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By ROBERT E. SPEER

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THE DUFF LECTURES FOR 1910

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONS

By

ROBERT E. SPEER

Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

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PREFACE

THE six chapters in this volume comprise the Duff Missionary Lectures delivered in Scotland on the foundation established by William Pirie Duff, Esq., in memory of his father, Alexander Duff. It was an honour to be charged with any work associated with that great name. Memories still exist in America of a visit from the famous missionary in 1854, when under his leadership a missionary conference was held in New York City from which deep and abiding influences remain with us to this day. The printed reports of the conference leave Dr. Duff's public address uncompleted. The reporter was so carried away that no record was made of the rushing torrent of eloquence with which it closed. But above a sense of wonder at his gift of convincing and persuasive speech, Alexander Duff left upon those who heard him in America, as he left upon the world, the impress of his supreme devotion to a supreme cause. I shall be grateful if through these lectures any one may be led to recognise as supreme the cause which Duff served, and to give his life to it with some small measure of Duff's devotion.

With the venture of such a prayer I asked the hearers of these lectures and now ask the reader to consider some of the problems of modern missions under the general theme of Christianity and the Nations, looking first at the missionary duty and motives, secondly at the missionary aim and methods, thirdly at the three great sets of problems involved in the relations of missions (1) to the new national Churches which they found, (2) to politics, and (3) to the non-Christian religions, and lastly at the relation of the missionary movement to the attainment of our hopes of a united Church and a united humanity.

The lectures were written on steamships while skirting the coasts of South America on a visit to the mission work in the

South American lands and there was access only to notes on missionary books but not to any libraries, and much appeal to missionary biography which would have been desirable was impossible. I think, however, that no opinions have been set forth for which there is not ample support in the judgment and experience of some of the great missionaries of whom the world knows and of many of the missionaries, equally great, of whom the world does not know.

The lectures were delivered in January and February, 1910, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and I am glad to take advantage of the opportunity presented by this preface to thank the many friends whose kindness made the duties of the lectureship an ever memorable delight. The limited time available for the delivery of each lecture required the cutting out of a good part of the material, but all that was omitted is restored in the printed form.

No claim of finality or completeness is made for the judgments on mission policies and methods which are advanced. The work of missions is a living work, full of all the perplexities and problems of human life wrought upon by the Divine Life, and we are all only feeling our way toward the great principles which are involved in it and toward the formulation of these principles in some systematic statement. If the discussion attempted here leads, either through agreement or through dissent, to a fuller and juster view than has been here proposed, the end of the book will have been attained. It is the truth that is sought and not the maintenance of any particular theory or opinion.

R. E. S.

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(1) The character of God; (2) The personality of Christ; (3) The purpose of the Christian Church; (4) The need of humanity. And only Christianity can meet these needs. It does so by striking down to the individual and saving him.

But we are told that these motives are dead and inoperative, that they cannot live—(*a*) With the new theology, (*b*) With "the force of evolution."

But the missionary motive does not change:

It has always been moral and not merely eschatological.

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(1) The outward movement of civilisation requires the missionary enterprise—To advance it, to support it, to correct it; (2) The Church also requires it; (3) The special urgencies of our own day. The condition of transition in Asia; the need and collapse of Romanism in South America.

It is objected

(1) That we ought not to interfere with the religious ideas and institutions of the non-Christian people; (2) That so much is to be done at home that it is wrong

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contains indispensable elements of good, which all other religions lack, (*a*) The conception of the Fatherhood of God, (*b*) The discovery of the evil of sin and provision for its forgiveness and defeat, (*c*) The ideal of sacrificial service, (*d*) The idea and principle of resurrection; (5) the non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet the world's needs; (6) Christianity is adequate because of its superior conception of God, its moral efficiency and its universality.

Have, then, the non-Christian religions prepared the way for Christianity?

What do we conclude should be the attitude of Christianity toward the non-Christian religions?

(1) It should be consistent; (2) It should recognise joyfully all the good in them and build upon it; (3) It should not slur over or ignore the points of difference; (4) It should make no compromises, but should anticipate its own absolute triumph; (5) It should welcome all transformations of the thought of non-Christian peoples which bring it nearer to Christianity; (6) But it must continue to seek to win men away from these religions to Christianity; (7) It should perceive and hold fast the truth of its own uniqueness; (8) It should welcome any contribution to a fuller understanding of its own character, but it may exaggerate the prospect of such contributions.

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4. There is already sufficient intellectual agreement in the Evangelical Churches of the West.
5. The Occidental character of our divisions makes their export unnecessary and inexpedient.

The kind of unity for which these considerations call involves:

(1) The avoidance of all waste and friction; (2) A positive co-operation; (3) A real and spiritual unity.

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I

THE MISSIONARY DUTY AND MOTIVES

I

THE MISSIONARY DUTY AND MOTIVES

THE last command of Christ is not the deep and final ground of the Church's missionary duty. That duty is authoritatively stated in the words of the great commission, and it is of infinite consequence to have had it so stated by our Lord Himself. But if these particular words had never been spoken by Him, or if, having been spoken, they had not been preserved, the missionary duty of the Church would not be in the least affected. "The supreme argument for foreign missions," says an earnest missionary advocate, "is the word of Jesus Christ Himself." This is correct but for three words. The supreme argument for foreign missions is not any word of Christ's,—it is Christ Himself, and what He reveals and signifies. The words of Christ did not create new duties. They revealed eternal duties, the grounds of which lay back of all words in the nature of things and in the facts of life.

It seems clear that the last command of Christ played no part at all in the first foreign missions of the Church. There is no reference to it in Paul's Epistles. No appeal was made to it in the issue over the admission of Gentiles to the Church. Mediæval missions did not find their ground in it. It is without authority for many men to-day, because, while they accept the words as Christ's words, they do not feel the domination of Christ or of the real grounds of missionary duty. Those grounds are in the very being and thought of God, in the character of Christianity, in the aim and purpose of the Christian Church, and in the nature of humanity, its unity, and its need.

The word of Christ as an argument for foreign missions has just as much vitality as it draws from the depth of our discern-

ment and the power of our acceptance of the considerations which are the true grounds of missionary duty. "If any of you enter the Gospel ministry in this or other lands," said Adoniram Judson in an appeal to young men at home, "let not your object be so much to 'do your duty,' or even to 'save souls,' though these should have a place in your motives, as to please the Lord Jesus. Let this be your ruling motive in all that you do. . . . Some one asked me not long ago whether faith or love influenced me most in going to the heathen. I thought of it a while and at length concluded that there was in me but little of either. But in thinking of what did influence me, I remembered a time, out in the woods back of Andover Seminary, when I was almost disheartened. Everything looked dark. No one had gone out from this country. The way was not open. The field was far distant and in an unhealthy climate. I knew not what to do. All at once that last command seemed to come to my heart directly from heaven. I could doubt no longer, but determined on the spot to obey it at all hazards, for the sake of pleasing the Lord Jesus Christ." But what pleased Christ was not the disciple's conformity to an enactment, a statute of evangelisation, but the deep realisation of the grounds of missionary duty, which enabled Judson to see what the last command meant and to lay his life in line with the purpose of God in the Incarnation.

It is in the very being and character of God that the deepest ground of the missionary enterprise is to be found. We cannot think of God except in terms which necessitate the missionary idea. He is one. There cannot, therefore, be such different tribal or racial gods as are avowed in the ethnic religions of the East, and assumed in the ethnic politics of the West. Whatever God exists for Scotland exists for all the world, and none other exists. And that cannot be true of God in Scotland which is not true of Him also in India. Men are not free to hold contradictory conceptions of the same God. If there be any God at all for me, He must be every other man's God, too. And God is true. To say that He is one is merely to say that He is. To say that He is true is to begin to describe Him, and to describe Him as alone He can be. And if He

is true He cannot have taught men falsehood. He will have struggled with their ignorance in His education of mankind, but it cannot have been His will or be His will now that some men should have false ideas of Him or false attitudes toward Him. A true God must will to be truly known by all men. And God is holy and pure. Nothing unholy or impure can be of Him. Anything unholy or impure must be abhorrent to Him, if in religion the more abhorrent because the more misrepresentative of Him, the more revolting to His nature. If anywhere in the world religion covers what is unclean or unworthy, there the character of God is being assailed. And God is just and good. No race and no man can have slipped through the fatherly affection of a loving God. Any inequality or unfairness or indifference in an offered God would send us seeking for the real one whom we should know was not yet found. A God who was idols in China, fate in Arabia, fetiches in Africa, and man himself with all his sin in India, would be no God anywhere. If God is one man's father, He is or would be every man's father. We cannot think of God, I say it reverently, without thinking of Him as a missionary God. Unless we are prepared to accept a God whose character carries with it the missionary obligation and idea, we must do without any real God at all.

It is by Christ, however, that the character of God is revealed to us. One of His most bold and penetrating words was His declaration, "The day will come when they shall slay you, thinking that they do service unto God, and these things will they do unto you because they have not known the Father or me." The best people of His day, He declared, were ignorant of the true character of God. Only those truly knew it who discovered or recognised it in Him. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father. No man cometh unto the Father but by Me. No man knoweth the Son save the Father, and no man knoweth the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." These are not arbitrary statutes. They are simple statements of fact. The world's knowledge of the character of God has depended and depends now on its knowledge of God in Christ. A good and worthy, an adequate and satisfying God,

i.e., God in truth, is known only where men have been in contact with the message of historic Christianity.

This simple fact involves a sufficient missionary responsibility. Men will only know a good and loving Father as their God, *i.e.*, they will know God, only as they are brought into the knowledge of Christ, Who is the only revelation of God. For those who have this knowledge to withhold it from the whole world is to do two things. It is to condemn the world to godlessness, and it is to raise the suspicion that those who think they have the knowledge of God are in reality ignorant of what Christ was and what He came to do. "It is the sincere and deep conviction of my soul," said Phillips Brooks, "when I declare that if the Christian faith does not culminate and complete itself in the effort to make Christ known to all the world, that faith appears to me a thoroughly unreal and insignificant thing, destitute of power for the single life and incapable of being convincingly proved to be true." And I recall a remark of Principal Rainy's to the effect that the measure of our sense of missionary duty was simply the measure of our personal valuation of Christ. If He is God to us, all in all to our minds and souls, we shall realise that He alone can be this to every man, and that He must be offered thus to every other man. The Unitarian view has never produced a mission save under an inherited momentum or the communicated stimulus of evangelicalism, and it has been incapable of sustaining such missions as it has produced. But when men really believe in God in Christ, and know Christ as God, they must, if they are loyal to themselves or to Him, share Him with all mankind.

For, child of one race and one time though He was, and that race the most centripetal of all races, Christ thought and wrought in universals. He looked forward over all ages and outward over all nations. The bread which He would give was His flesh, which He would give for the life of the world. He was the light of the whole world. If He should be lifted up He would draw all men unto Himself. His disciples were to go into all the world and make disciples of all nations. His sheep were not of a Jewish fold alone. It was not of a race

but of a world that the Father had sent Him to be the Saviour. He did not regard Himself as one of many Saviours and His revelation as one of many revealings. He was the only Saviour of men, and His was the only revelation of the Father God. "I have long ago ceased to regard the history of the Hebrew race as unique," writes a well-known Christian leader of our day. "It was well for us in our early days that our studies were directed towards it, and we saw how the Hebrew people found God in every event in their history, but we believe that Assyria and Babylon, Nineveh and Rome, could have similar stories written of God's dealings with them." Now, whether the history of the Hebrew race is unique or not is not a matter of theory. It is a simple question of fact. If it was not unique, then where is its like? What other history produced a vocabulary for a revelation? What other history yielded God to humanity? What other ended in a Saviour? As a simple matter of fact, Christianity which sprang out of this race and this history is unlike all other religions in its kind, as we shall see. As such, it never contemplated anything else than universal dominion. If it shrinks into a more racial cult, it separates itself from its Founder and life, and utterly abandons its essential character.

Not only is the missionary duty inherent in the nature of Christianity and in the Christian conception of God, *i.e.*, in the real character of God, but it is imbedded in the very purpose of the Christian Church. There were no missionary organisations in the early Church. No effort was made to promote a missionary propaganda, but the religion spread at once and everywhere. The genius of universal extension was in the Church. "We may take it as an assured fact," says Harnack, "that the mere existence and persistent activity of the individual Christian communities did more than anything else to bring about the extension of the Christian religion."

Bishop Montgomery in his little book on "Foreign Missions" recalls Archbishop Benson's definition of four eras of missions, "first, when the whole Church acted as one; next, when missions were due to great saints; thirdly, to the action of govern-

ments; lastly, the age of missionary societies." The Church at the outset was a missionary society. The new Christians were drawn together spontaneously by the uniting power of a common life, and they felt as spontaneously the outward pressure of a world mission. The triumphant prosecution of that mission and the moral fruits of this new and uniting life were their apologetics. They did not sit down within the walls of a formalised and stiffened institution to compose reasoned arguments for Christianity. The new religion would have rotted out from heresy and anæmia in two generations if they had done so.

As an old writer of the Church of England has put it: "The way in which the Gospel would seem to be intended to be alike preserved and perpetuated on earth is not by its being jealously guarded by a chosen Order and cautiously communicated to a precious Few, but by being so widely scattered and so thickly sown that it shall be impossible, from the very extent of its spreading, merely, to be rooted up. It was designed to be not as a Perpetual Fire in the Temple, to be tended with jealous assiduity and to be fed only with special oil; but rather as a shining and burning Light, to be set up on every hill, which should blaze the broader and the brighter in the breeze, and go on so spreading over the surrounding territory as that nothing of this world should ever be able to extinguish or to conceal it." The sound doctrine of the Church was safeguarded by the wholesome hygienic reflex action of service and work and conquest. And its light and life convinced men, because men saw them conquering the world. The Church was established to spread Christianity, and to conserve it in the only way in which living things can ever be conserved, by living action. When in any age or in any land the Church has forgotten this, she has paid for her disobedience. So long as there are any unreached men in the world or any unreached life, the business of the Church is her missionary duty.

And while so long as our present unhappy divisions continue among us there may be diversities of tasks among various bodies of Christians, nevertheless that is true of each body which is true of all. Its main business can never be to guard. It

must be to give. Each Church must recognise the missionary duty as its duty as a Church, and its primary duty, if it would be true to the fundamental purpose of the Church in the world. The Church of Scotland was the first great Church in modern times to rediscover this principle. In 1796 two Synods of the Established Church overtured the Assembly regarding foreign missions, proposing a collection. The proposition was violently opposed. Even moderatism can be violent. It was argued that "to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence, and that while there remains at home a single individual without means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper and absurd." A collection for missions, it was contended, "would no doubt be a subject for legal prosecution." Thanks to Chalmers and Inglis, the day came when the Church of Scotland came to the truth and became "the first Protestant Church as such to send out a missionary." In 1831, Dr. Rice presented in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America his famous overture whose principle, six years later, was permanently embodied in the constitution of the Church.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of North America [declared Dr. Rice in his overture] in organising their form of government, and in repeated declarations made through their representatives in after times, have solemnly recognised the importance of the missionary cause and their obligation as Christians to promote it by all the means in their power. But these various acknowledgments have not gone to the full extent of the obligations imposed by the Head of the Church, nor have they produced exertions at all corresponding thereto. Indeed, in the judgment of the General Assembly, the primary and principal object of the institution of the Church by Jesus Christ, was not so much the salvation of the individual Christian, for "he that believeth in the Lord Jesus Christ shall be saved,"—but the communicating the blessings of the Gospel to the destitute with the efficiency of united efforts. The entire history of the Christian Societies organised by the Apostles affords abundant evidence that they so understood the design of the Master.

They received of Him a command to preach the Gospel to every creature, and from the churches planted by them the word of the Lord was "sounded out" through all parts of the civilised world. Nor did the missionary spirit of the primitive churches expire until they had become secularised and corrupted by another spirit. And it is the decided belief of the General Assembly that a true revival of religion in any denomination of Christians will generally, if not universally, be marked by an increased sense of obligation to execute the commission which Christ gave the Apostles. The General Assembly would, therefore, in the most public and solemn manner, express their shame and sorrow that the Church represented by them has done comparatively so little to make known the saving health of the Gospel to all nations. . . . Be it therefore, Resolved, that the Presbyterian Church in the United States is a Missionary Society, the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world; and that every member is a member for life of said society, and bound in maintenance of his Christian character to do all in his power for the accomplishment of this object.

As a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the loyalty to the missionary purpose of the Church is shown by one-tenth of the membership, but the Church none the less is a missionary organisation, and the missionary organisation and the missionary duty are grounded in her charter and character.

The fourth deep ground of missionary duty is the need of humanity. The world needs Christ to-day as much and as truly as it needed Him nineteen centuries ago. If Judaism and the Roman Empire needed what Christ brought, then Hinduism and Asia need it now. If they do not need Him now, no more was He needed then. If they can get along without Him just as well, the whole world can dispense with Him. If there is no missionary duty, the ground falls from under the necessity, and therefore from under the reality of the Incarnation. But that world into which He came did need Christ. It was dead without Him. It was He Who gave it life, Who cleansed its defilement, Who taught it purity and service and equality and faith and gave it hope and fellowship. He alone can do this now. The non-Christian world needs now what Christ and Christ alone can do for it.

It needs the physical wholeness, the fitting of life to its conditions, which, as a matter of fact, nations get just in proportion as they get Christ. We do not need to go for proof of such needs to any overcoloured, distorted accounts of those who see only the good of Christendom and only the evil of heathenism—heathenism is a good word, and it describes facts. Sir John Hewett's account, as Lieutenant-Governor, of the conditions of sanitation in the United Provinces of India, will suffice: "Speaking generally, the death rates recorded in the Province in recent years, both in urban and in rural tracts, are nearly three times as high as in England and Wales. It is estimated that in India nearly one out of every ten of the population is constantly sick, and a person who has escaped the diseases and dangers of childhood and youth, and entered into manhood or womanhood, has an expectation that his or her life will extend to only 68 per cent. of the time that a person similarly situated may be expected to live in England. . . . Infantile mortality is nearly twice as great as it is in England. . . . It is lamentable that one out of every four children born should die before he or she has completed a year of life. . . . The average number of persons per house (which frequently consist of two rooms, or even of only one) is 5.3 in important cities, and 5.5 in the rest of the country. It is estimated that the average superficial area per head of the population is something like 10 square feet, and the breathing space—150 cubic feet—just half what is required in common lodging-houses in England." Conditions in Christian lands are not what they should be, but they are infinitely superior to the conditions in other lands, and in proportion as they are Christian, famine and disease and want are overcome. Are these blessings to be ours alone?

The world needs the social message and redemption of Christianity. Paul tells us that it met and conquered the inequalities of his time, the chasm between citizen and foreigner, master and slave, man and woman. These are the chasms of the non-Christian world still. It has no ideal of human brotherhood save as it has heard of it through Christianity. Not one of the non-Christian religions or civilisations has given either women

or children, especially girl children, their rights. There is human affection. The statement of a recent writer regarding China, that "children are spawned and not born," is surely most untrue save on the basest levels of life. But the proverb of the Arab women of Kesrawan too truly suggests the Asiatic point of view: "The threshold weeps forty days when a girl is born." And between man and man the world knows no deep basis of common humanity, or if it knows, it has no adequate sanction and resources for its realisation. Its brotherhood is within the faith or within the caste, not as inclusive as humanity. It wants what all the world wanted until it found it through Christ. "In his little churches, where each person bore his neighbour's burden, Paul's spirit," says Harnack, "already saw the dawning of a new humanity, and in the Epistle to the Ephesians he has voiced this feeling with a thrill of exaltation. Far in the background of these churches, like some unsubstantial semblance, lay the division between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, great and small, rich and poor. For a new humanity had now appeared, and the Apostle viewed it as Christ's body, in which every member served the rest and each was indispensable in his own place." The great social idea of Christianity is still only partially realised by us. But we do not have it at all unless we have it for humanity, and it can be made to prevail anywhere only by being made to prevail everywhere.

The world needs, moreover, the moral ideal and the moral power of Christianity. The Christian conceptions of truth and purity and love and holiness and service are original. Every ideal except the Christian ideal is defective. Three other sets of ideals are offered to men. The only other theistic ideals are the Mohammedan and the Jewish. The Mohammedan ideal expressly sanctions polygamy, and the authority of its founder is cited in justification of falsehood. The Jewish ideal is wholly enclosed in and transcended by the Christian. Buddhism and Shintoism and Confucianism offer men atheistic ideals, *i.e.,* ideals which abandon the conception of the absolute and cannot rise above their source in man who made them. Hinduism, with its pantheism, is incapable of the moral distinctions which alone

can produce moral ideals, and as a matter of fact owes its worthy moral conceptions to-day exclusively to the influence of Christianity. But it is not ideals alone,—it is power for their realisation that the world requires. That power can be found only in life, in the life of God communicated to men. What offers this or pretends to offer it but Christianity? How can it be offered by religions which have no God, or whose God has no character?

For this is the great need of the world. It needs the knowledge and the life of the good and fatherly God. Its own religions have given it neither of these, and its own religions are disintegrating. Christianity has detached small companies of people from them, but the influence of Christianity has penetrated them to the marrow. Let alone, it would war against their vicious elements and preserve all in them capable of redemption. But it will not be let alone. Other influences are at work upon the religious conceptions of the non-Christian world, and under those influences the conceptions and the institutions of the non-Christian religions are doomed. Never did men face a more solemn responsibility than confronts us now. "The ancient beliefs and customs of the non-Christian peoples," says Mr. Bryce in a recent letter, "are destined soon to pass away, and it becomes a matter of supreme importance to see that new and better moral and religious principles are given to them promptly to replace what is disappearing; and to endeavour to find methods for preventing the faults or vices of adventurers and others who are trying to exploit the uncivilised races from becoming a fatal hindrance to the spread of Christianity." The Christian nations are standing face to face with judgment here. The Bishop of Lahore put this earnestly in a Ramsden sermon at Cambridge University many years ago. "And is it too much to say," he enquired, "that our greatest national glory or our deepest national shame will, in the eye of history, turn in the way in which we recognise our responsibility and discharge our obligations to the land [of India] more, perhaps, than any other single aspect of our national life? That our contact with India must, whether we will it or not, be fraught with issues of the most momentous

importance to that land, is patent to every one who is the least acquainted with the conditions of life there. Even putting all distinctive missionary effort out of the question, the mere contact of Western thought and culture and education is inevitably breaking up the older forms of Hindu thought. But it lies with us whether that contact shall be charged with infinite blessing, leading them on to a higher, deeper, truer faith, and a new national life, or whether, cutting them adrift from their old moorings, we leave them without Christ, strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world. But if, indeed, this is the return that we make them, if, after holding the land for our own benefit and skimming it of its choicest productions and pouring into it as a happy solution of difficulties at home, in ever-increasing streams, our sons as civilians, soldiers, engineers, professional men, men of business, artisans, mechanics, and the like, we express our inability or our unwillingnes to satisfy its hope and need, to minister to its sore sickness, how think you will this stand in the eyes of a righteous God Who loveth righteousness, Whose countenance will behold the thing that is just?" Yes, how are we to think that He will regard such paltering with manifest missionary duty?

And throughout the non-Christian world there are multitudes who are conscious of their needs. They may not regard Christianity as the answer to their need. It is not surprising if they do not. In what way has Christendom not misrepresented Christianity to them? But they know their need. "You speak as if our country is already a dead thing," says one of the characters in Uchimura's dialogue on "The Future of Japan." "Yes," is the reply, "immoral nation is already dead. With all its shows of stability, a nation without a high ideal is a dead corpse. Japan under the Satsuma Choshu Government is a dead nation." "You speak very determinedly." "Yes," replies Uchimura, "I have to; I cannot bear to see my nation die." And there are many who do not wish to see their nations die in Asia, who turn to Christ. "All over India," wrote Dr. Cuthbert Hall to the missionaries there when he left India, with

India's need upon his heart and its poison in his blood, "all over India are men unprepared to identify themselves with any Christian denomination, to whom the popular forms of the ancient faith have become inadequate, if not distasteful, and for whom the name of Jesus Christ and the distinctive truths connected with that name for the redemption of individuals and the reconstruction of the social order, are taking on new attractiveness and value." The fact that the world is awaking to its need, whether it is drawn or repelled by Christianity as it understands it matters not, adds a pathos to its mute appeal to those who have in custody the Gospel of God in Christ.

For it is only that Gospel that can meet the world's need. Commerce and government, philanthropy and education, deal with it superficially, and in the hands of shallow or evil men only accentuate it. A force is needed which will cut down to the roots, which deals with life in the name and by the power of God, which marches straight upon the soul and reconstructs character, which saves men one by one. Here we are flat upon the issue, and not to evade it or confuse it, I will put it unmistakably. It is our duty to carry Christianity to the world because the world needs to be saved, and Christ alone can save it. The world needs to be saved from want and disease and injustice and inequality and impurity and lust and hopelessness and fear, because individual men need to be saved from sin and death, and only Christ can save them. His is the only religious power which will reach down deep enough to transform, and will hold till transformation is fixed. Christianity alone is the religion which will do this and will struggle until it has prevailed. The American Consul-General at Hong Kong, Mr. Wilder, understands this: "Commerce, exploitation of resources, diplomacy, personal contact, secular education even, have had their way; they are handmaids of truth, but they do not do the work. The Anglo-Saxon has rubbed against the Chinese for a century in South China, yet the crudest forms of superstition abound in almost every native home; tawdry dragons are carried about the streets to expel the plague; polygamy and slavery are common, and one may only infer the dark scenes that must be

enacted under a system whose heaven can be bought or whose hell can be averted by burning coloured sawdust and vain repetitions. You say that our American-European phases of these coast ports are no less abhorrent. We deny it absolutely. We confess the sorry showing, but we point out the constant protest, the disgrace attached to it, the periodic war on it; the promise from the operation of Christian resistance and uplift elsewhere of better days to come in the Far East. There is this all-important difference: pagan vice and ignorance are a dead incubus, with no hope from within. Paganism, unaided, never improves. In a Christian community where you find vice and degradation there is no peace, there is recurring protest; some one is forever carrying forward the standard and bidding the line to come up: if one generation does not relieve the iniquity, better men and women to follow us force the improvement."

And Christianity does this by striking down to the individual and saving him. It saves him by the power of God in Christ, working in and upon him. The missionary duty is this duty. "I hold education," says Uchimura, "as essentially personal and individualistic." And he uses the term education in its broad sense. There is more to education than this. Society is something more than the sum-total of individuals, but it begins and ends with individuals, and the need of the world is primarily the need of its individuals, and the salvation of the world the salvation of its soul through the salvation of its souls. The world's need, and the full supply of that need in Christianity, is the basis of missionary duty and the perception of the need, the knowledge that Christ can supply it and the spirit of sympathy and fairness which any true knowledge of Christ will give, are the fountains of the missionary motive.

We have been often told in recent years that the atmosphere in which the modern missionary movement was conceived has passed away and that the movement cannot live in the new days that have come. New theological ideas and new principles of human progress, it is said, have cut the foundation from beneath the missionary duty. What are the new theological ideas which have done this? They resolve themselves, the new teachers

tell us, into the idea of God as the loving God and Father of all mankind, Who loves all equally and is equally teaching all and leading them to Himself. But when did this idea become new? Paul held it. It was this very conception which led the founders of foreign missions to go out to the nations which had no such notion of God, in order to make clear to them Him after Whom they had been ignorantly feeling. If modern theology boasts of a better God than the founders of missions knew, and shows itself less zealous to share its better God with all the world, we will be forced to regard its better God as a delusion. How good a man's God really is will be shown by the man's eagerness to make Him known to all the world. If new theological conceptions do not lead men to do this, they will have no power in them, and no long-continuing life. Theology without a missionary spirit only appears to deal with a good God, and to believe in Him. The men who really believe in a good God will continue the passionate effort to give Him to all men and all men to Him. And what are the new principles of human progress which have dissolved the missionary motive? The force of evolution, we are told, by which all people are being developed toward the sure goal. But evolution is no force. It is simply the commonplace method of action by which results have always been wrought everywhere. You get out of causes only what is in them, and there is in the world's need, its moral and spiritual destitution, no power of self-fulfilment. We believe that the nations and the souls of men will move upward and forward towards a worthy end only if living forces capable of lifting them toward such an end are set to work upon them. The new day discerns this, and the missionary motive will not only survive into the new day,—it will be more powerful then than ever in the past.

As a matter of fact, the missionary motive does not change. The enterprise rests now on the same foundation on which it has always rested,—on which it rested at the beginning. Our Lord came to give men life abundantly, to save them from their sins, to show them the Father, to be the Saviour of the World. The disciples went out to give to others what had meant every-

thing to them, to proclaim a kingdom which was the true principle of life, to deliver men from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, to give them freedom from their sins, to tell them good news, to bring them unto God, and to bring to them the love and strength and forgiveness of God in Christ. A great love and sense of human brotherhood, of the oneness of humanity in its need, and the oneness of its hope and privilege in God, filled the hearts of the disciples with a compassion which was and is the essence of the missionary spirit.

These have been the motives which have led the missionaries out in all ages. Adolphus Good wrote that his reasons for going to Africa were "just about those that would suggest themselves to any one. The Gospel is here within the reach of all, and many of the temporal benefits, at least, are enjoyed by all. The heathen have neither. This, I think, makes it the duty, especially of every young minister, to enquire not, 'Why should I go?' but 'Why should I not go?'" M. Berthoud chose Africa under a sense of the obligation resting upon Christians to atone to Africa for the wrongs of slavery. "It is the Gospel," he said, "which has begun to make amends, and it is the Gospel which will certainly complete the work. The Gospel will yet make Africa one of the most beautiful territories of the Kingdom of God. . . . What a privilege to be called to labour in this great undertaking!" I have chosen two missionaries, not among the best known, who justly represent the motives which have actually sustained the missionary enterprise, although these two need to be supplemented by a third, whose words add the deeper element of loving devotion. "I see," said Raymond Lull, "many knights going to the Holy Land beyond the seas, but in the end all are destroyed before they attain that which they think to have. Whence it seems to me, that the conquest of the Holy Land ought not to be attempted except in the way in which Thou and Thy apostles acquired it, namely, by love and prayers, and the pouring out of tears and blood."

The idea that the supreme missionary motive has been the desire to save the souls of the heathen from hell rests upon a

very partial and inaccurate knowledge of missionary literature. That idea has entered deeply into men's thoughts and it represents a great and solemn truth, but in the crude form in which it is flung reproachfully at the missionary movement it has never constituted the foundation of the missionary enterprise. The Epistles of Paul know nothing of it. He never once uses the word hell. He is so engrossed in living issues that he says little about destinies. He saw men dead without Christ, and he was more concerned with bringing them life than with speculation as to the issue of their death. There has always been far more speculation on the future fate of the heathen among stay-at-homes than among missionaries.

The future destiny of any man is not a thing to trifle over. The New Testament certainly does not deal lightly with it. We have no slightest ground for diluting the solemn significance of man's present life as determining the future, as an integral and ordering part of the man's eternal career. On the other hand, we know that men are not to be judged as though all had seen the same light. No man is lost for not accepting a Saviour of whom he has never heard. Men are lost because sin destroys them, and they are lost now because sin is now alienating them from God and blinding them to light. What we have to deal with is not destinies but facts. Salvation is salvation from a destiny only because it is salvation from the fact of sin. As by the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, God saved men before Christ came, so now He is dealing with men in the nations which are still B. C. But this absolves us from no missionary duty, for first, we know these nations and we see there no salvation such as the Lamb made flesh has wrought, and secondly, we do see there such sickness of society and of the soul as only Christ can heal. We think with awe of the future, and that awe is the background of our missionary meditation, but our duty is the duty of carrying a present deliverance and revealing to men a present Father of Love and a present Saviour of Power.

This and not the eschatological consideration has been the real missionary motive in all ages. Even when the eschatological

consideration was given bold and conspicuous utterance, it was a mode of speech to express what Paul also felt and we feel, and what Paul also expressed and we express with a different emphasis. It was a way of describing human need, but it was the need, howsoever described, and living faith in Christ and His Gospel as alone able to meet that need that has ever constituted the ground and motive of missions. Indeed, if we go back to the appeals of the great leaders of the missionary enterprise at the beginning of the modern movement, we shall find their emphasis often less appreciative of the individualistic and distinctively religious character of the enterprise, and more social and political than our own. "Can we as men or as Christians," asks Carey in his famous "Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen," "hear that a great part of our fellow-creatures, whose souls are as immortal as ours, and who are as capable as ourselves of adorning the Gospel and contributing by their preaching, writings, or practices to the glory of our Redeemer's name and the good of His Church, are enveloped in ignorance and barbarism? Can we hear that they are without the Gospel, without government, without laws, and without arts and sciences, and not exert ourselves to introduce among them the sentiments of men, and of Christians? Would not the spread of the Gospel be the most effectual means of their civilisation? Would not that make them useful members of society?" This was the characteristic note of the argument advanced at the beginning of the modern missionary enterprise. In America two of the greatest of the early leaders were Jeremiah Evarts and Walter Lowrie, both of them public men who gave up law and politics to serve the cause of missions. In an address to the Christian public, issued in 1812, Evarts wrote: "It is now generally seen and felt by those who have any claim to be considered as proper judges, that Christianity is the only remedy for the disorders and miseries of the world, as well as the only foundation of hope for the world to come. No other agent will ever control the violent passions of men, and without the true religion all attempts to meliorate the conditions of mankind will prove as illusory as a feverish dream.

The genuine patriot, therefore, and the genuine philanthropist, must labour, so far as they value the prosperity of their country and the happiness of the human race, to diffuse the knowledge and the influence of Christianity at home and abroad. Thus will they labour most effectually to put a final period to oppression and slavery, to perfidy and war, and to all the train of evils which falsehood, ambition, and cruelty have so profusely scattered through the world." Lowrie was ever writing and speaking in the same vein. We find in the early missionary writings a preponderant appeal to the moral need of the world. It needs a spiritual regeneration now. It needs the establishment of Christian institutions now. The charge of a narrow eschatological appeal never did hold against the missionary movement. An adequate knowledge of missionary literature would lay it open rather, I think, to the error of over-moralising and over-socialising the missionary duty. Neither in missions nor in life have we lived enough under the shadow of the eternal.

The fundamental missionary duty, then, is the application to the need of the world of God in Christ, its only hope and salvation, and the fundamental elements of the missionary motive are compassion for the world, and loyalty to Christ and the Spirit of a fair and equal love which shares its good with all. The missionary movement will be carried on by those who feel the burden of this duty and respond to these motives. There are, however, supplementary and subordinate considerations, which do not constitute the missionary motive but which are of interest and significance.

In the first place, the outward movement of civilisation requires the missionary enterprise, for three purposes,—to advance it, to support it, and to correct it. The missionary enterprise has advanced this movement steadily from the beginning, and even now, when the movement has progressed so far that it is prone to ignore missions, it is receiving evident advantage from them. Two quotations from recent consular reports will suffice as illustrations: "The medical branch of missions," reports the American Vice-Consul at Chefoo, "is probably doing more toward reconciling the Chinese to foreign association than any

other agency. In Weihsien, where no foreigner has hitherto been permitted to live, an American medical missionary has recently opened a dispensary. During a recent overland trip to that city, the mention of acquaintance with the missionary invariably put me on a friendly footing. Such contact with this work forces the conclusion that the missionaries are practical forerunners of commercial enterprise. They seldom fail to win the respect and esteem even of those who do not accept their doctrines, and they unconsciously pave the way for further foreign intercourse." —(*Daily Consular and Trade Reports,* March 16, 1909, p. 13.) "There are about fifty American missionaries living within this territory," writes the American Consul-General at Boma, in Africa, "whose civilising work and influence among a large portion of the 1,500,000 natives comprising the population will undoubtedly result in largely increasing the demand for light-weight cheap clothing and for numerous household articles. These agents of civilisation are pioneer salesmen and are instruments in introducing products of their own country. . . . One of the first steps to be taken at the present time, aiming at the introduction of American goods into this country by the mail order system is to get in touch with the missionaries."—(*Daily Consular and Trade Reports,* April 5, 1909, p. 3.) But missions are advancing civilisation in a far more vital and significant way than simply by opening markets for foreign goods and disposing the people to foreign intercourse. They are planting the principles of ordered life, teaching people what lies at the base of civilisation, and so permanently increasing their capacity for trade and elevating the class of trade of which they are capable. "The benefits of the missionary work in New Guinea," says Hugh Milman, a magistrate, "are immense, inter-tribal fights formerly so common being at an end, and trading and communication, one tribe with another, now being carried on without fear." "It is they," says Sir H. H. Johnston, speaking of British Central Africa, "who in many cases have first taught the natives carpentry, joining, masonry, tailoring, cobbling, engineering, bookkeeping, printing, European cookery, to say nothing of reading, writing, arithmetic, and a smattering of general

knowledge. Almost invariably it has been to missionaries that the natives of interior Africa have owed their first acquaintance with a printing press, the turning-lathe, the mangle, the flat-iron, the sawmill, and the brick mould." And in lands of a more advanced and compacted civilisation of their own, like China, the missionary has introduced movable type, the newspaper, Western education, scientific textbooks, and practically all that is known of medicine and surgery. He was China's only guide in her first steps. God has wrought in the world by many forces, but none has compared in purity and power with the force of missions. "The missionary, the philanthropist, the social reformer, and others of the same sort," says Lord Cromer patronisingly, "should have a fair field. Their intentions are excellent, although at times their judgment may be defective. They will, if under some control, probably do much good on a small scale. They may even, being carried away by the enthusiasm which pays no heed to worldly prudence, effect reforms more important than those of the administrator and politician, who will follow cautiously in their track, and perhaps reap the result of their labours." Financially, the missionary agency is one of the pettiest forces at work on the non-Christian world. Its total annual expenditure is less than the cost of three battleships, and not as much as the annual maintenance of the Italian navy. Yet small as it is, it has made a deeper impact in the name of civilisation than any other agency, and all its mistakes from the beginning, put together, have not been one-thousandth part as costly as the single mistake of Gordon's fall in the Soudan and what followed it, to whomsoever that mistake may have been due.

The missionary movement has not only advanced civilisation; it has been and is required to support it. Civilisation rests upon great moral ideas. It is not a mere commercial affair. It could not be at all the great commercial affair it is if it were not for the moral ideas which underlie it. It is only possible as the people who would enjoy it are animated in some real measure by the principles on which it rests. Marquis Ito saw a great light in this regard in his last years. Some years ago he repudiated the idea of the importance of religion to national

life. It was mere superstition from which intelligent men emancipated themselves, but in December, 1908, he told a gathering of Christian people at a dedication of a building in Seoul that in the early years of Japan's reformation the senior statesmen were opposed to religious toleration, especially because of distrust of Christianity. "But," said he, "I fought vehemently for freedom of belief and propagation, and finally triumphed. My reasoning was this: civilisation depends upon morality, and the highest morality upon religion. Therefore, religion must be tolerated and encouraged. It is for the same reason that I welcome the Young Men's Christian Association, believing that it is a powerful ally in the great task I have undertaken in attempting to put the feet of Korea upon the pathway of true civilisation." President Taft also saw this light when he went out as Governor-General to the Philippines. "The missionary societies," said he, when he grasped the facts, "have great responsibilities with reference to the expansion of civilisation in distant lands, as I came to realise much more fully than ever before in my contact with this work while in the Far East. No one can study the movement of modern civilisation from an impartial standpoint and not realise that Christianity and the spread of Christianity are the only basis for hope of modern civilisation in the growth of popular self-government." Christianity is the only religion which can do this service for civilisation. It is the only religion which can live with civilisation, for the reason that what is good in civilisation Christianity has produced or fortified, and that what is evil in it Christianity alone can correct and subdue.

And there is much evil in Western civilisation with which Christianity must wage war. The conflict is fiercer than ever now at home, and the need of Christianity as the corrective of our civilisation abroad is even more acute because the brand we export is tainted, our best badly tainted with our worst. To correct that taint, to accuse civilisation of its treachery whenever it misrepresents our highest to the other nations, to express to those nations the ideal of service with which Christianity is seeking to permeate human life, to teach purity and

love, where so many are teaching lust and hate, to hold the whole movement of the West true to its missionary duty—for this ministry foreign missions are indispensable to civilisation. As Mr. Roosevelt has plainly put it: "In past history it has ever been true that all enterprises, whether of governments or of private individuals, whether of scholars or of men of action, have needed the awakening and controlling power of that high and self-sacrificing morality which accompanies the Christian religion, and nowadays it is needed more than ever because of the marvellous ways in which both the good and bad in civilised nations are being carried to the utmost parts of the earth." The good and the bad! "I can honestly state," said Joseph Thompson of his visit to missions in Nyasaland, "that for the first time in all my wide African travels, I have found a spot where the advent of the white man may be described as an unmitigated blessing to the nation." The missionary duty would extend that spot to cover the whole non-Christian world. The outward movement of civilisation requires the missionary enterprise, but the outward movement of civilisation should be itself a missionary enterprise. The foreign missions of the Church alone are capable of impressing that ideal upon it.

Not only does the outward movement of civilisation require the missionary enterprise. The Church also requires it. "We are plainly taught by God," says an old writer on "Obedience, the Life of Missions," "that it was for this very purpose that the Church was established. God placed it where it is, in the centre of its own particular orbit—just as He did the sun and the moon and the stars—to give light unto all. For this very end, and no other, were each particular Church and the Church universal—which is the sum of all particular Churches—ordained and established on the poles of truth and in the sphere of sinful humanity, that they might each one, according to their ability, irradiate its darkness with the light of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God."—(Smyth, "Obedience, the Life of Missions," p. 54). No institution can deliberately repudiate its fundamental purpose, its main reason for being, and not suffer for it. The

Christian Church will certainly suffer if she does it. She has suffered. Her energies have shrivelled, her visions have died, her grasp on her nearby problem has relaxed, her sense of God has thinned until it has vanished, and she has lost her power whenever and so far as she has forgotten or evaded her mission to the world. She wonders why her word is so ineffective, and her projects so unavailing, and her activities so fruitless. The reason is she has betrayed her character and ignored her business. The last word of Christ shows her where the secret of a new and sufficient power is to be found. In the execution of her mission to the whole world, and only so, Christ promises with all His power to be in the Church. Our schemes and our preachings are impotent because He is absent from them, and there is only one way to bring Him back into them. Exhortation and resolution will not avail. Prayer itself will be futile because unreal, if offered on the old basis of distortion of the divine purpose and disobedience to the divine will and disloyalty to the divine character. There is one way only to bring Christ and His divine power into the Church, and that is to bring the Church into her right mission and purpose toward the world, as the channel for the life of God into all the life of all men. And any sacrifice by the Church of her true missionary character involves loss not to the Church alone, but to the world through the Church. "Let us heed the solemn warning across the ages of the Church of the fourth century. Imagine what would have been if the Nicene Council, when for the last time the garment of Christ was seen unrent and all Christendom sat together, had done its duty, and instead of disputing upon dogma and dividing on doctrine, had become a great missionary assembly, and felt upon miter and imperial circlet the Pentecostal flame. Suppose, only suppose, that the great council, whose supreme ability no student of history can doubt, had done its full missionary duty, and the northern and southern nations had been converted before, instead of after the conquest of the Roman Empire. Suppose Arabia had known a missionary Christ before Mohammed, and that Saxon on the Elbe, and French beyond the Rhine, and Goth below the two

rivers, had heard the Gospel in the fourth century instead of the sixth, seventh, and eighth. Is it not possible that a thousand years of wasted history, which have cast more than three-quarters of the Christian Church under the cloud of superstition, would have been saved if the Church of the fourth century had been a missionary Church, looking without, instead of within?"—(TALCOTT WILLIAMS, "Men and Missions," p. 11 ff.)

The missionary duty bids us not repeat that mistake to-day. Many other voices are summoning us to reproduce it. We are bidden to give heed to our doctrine. The doctrine will take care of itself if we carry God in Christ to the world. It will pollute fast enough if we sit down about it to dissect it. We are bidden to look at home and see what we shall see. We shall see far worse things if we fail to see, also, and as equally in the love and care of God and of equal title in the Gospel, those other sheep of whom Christ spoke, and the uttermost parts of the earth. Rather the very hope of the Church for her life and work at home is in her clearer discernment and richer acceptance of her whole mission.

And just such an urgent need throughout the world as the Church of the fourth century failed to see in its day confronts the Church in ours. There is the obvious abiding and always urgent need of every human life for Christ. If we Christian men need Christ, every man needs Him. If we find His help sufficient and His salvation indispensable, other men's hearts, we need to remember, are just like our own. If we could not dispense with Christ, if we sing truthfully, "I could not do without Thee, Thou Saviour of the lost," other men cannot do without Him. The old missionary appeal which bade us reach men because they are so fast passing beyond our reach is an ever true appeal. Men are passing away to whom Christ should have been given before they passed out from us, given because they needed Him while they were here, given because they should have not passed out without Him whither they have gone.

The ideal of the evangelisation of the world in this generation is a legitimate ideal. It is more than that. It is a necessary ideal. The Gospel can never be given to the whole world in

any other way. Dead men cannot evangelise the world. Even if you could evangelise dead men, that would leave the living world still to be evangelised. "Every creature" means to us "our generation." To preach the Gospel to them means to evangelise them. Now is our day of obedience, and now the word of Christ and what that word embodies, the will of God and the need of the world, call us to carry forward to completion the missionary task.

But the present situation has also its special urgency. The whole world is astir now and plastic. Great tides are running which should be grasped and ordered in the name of God. Nations are reshaping and new destinies are determining. It is Christianity's day of opportunity and trial. Fifteen years ago the authoritative books on Asia preached the doctrine of its stagnation and sterility. Mr. Norman applied to China the lines:

> "Aloof from our mutation and unrest,
> Alien to our achievement and desires."

And Mr. Townsend declared that some mysterious fiat of arrest seemed to have fallen upon the yellow races, making them inaccessible to new principles from without and stamping all foreign missions whether of politics or religion as futile and vain.

We look out upon a situation to-day completely belying these hopeless predictions. We see in Asia a great industrial awakening. In these fifteen years the exports of Japan have grown from 91,000,000 yen to 432,000,000 and her imports from 71,000,000 to 494,000,000. The China railroads have grown from 200 miles to 3,746, with 1,622 more under construction. New industries are springing up everywhere, and the world has something to look forward to in the production by cheap labour from raw material, produced on the spot by cheap labour, and manufactured on machinery made by cheap labour, of the very commodities which now constitute our export trade. Against that industrial development our protective tariffs will take on a pitiful significance. We see in Asia, also, a great intellectual

awakening. Six million pupils are in the public schools of Japan. In China, the vastest nation on earth has cut away its old and antiquated system and is groping toward the new lights, and a new press is beginning the education of the multitudes too old to go to school, while a new post-office system, with 2,000 offices, and handling, in 1906, 103,000,000 articles, is beginning to unify the thoughts of the people. And what is more wonderful, the Moslem world has been talking of freedom of thought, and actually thinking freely. The world never dreamed to see the Moslem caliph and sultan flung down by Mohammedan hands in the interest of free institutions. All Asia has begun to think and talk, and its language is the language of men of free minds. The froth of license and excess is only the sure evidence of the deep tides running beneath. We see also in Asia a great political awakening, not only in the sense of a demand for constitutional and representative government, though that is wonderful enough, but also in the sense of a great development of the spirit of nationalism, the Eastern nations feeling at last the deep influence of those ideals which for two generations have increasingly dominated the political movements of the West. We see in Asia also a great moral awakening. The political awakening is at bottom ethical. It is only a sign of the Asiatic's awakening to manhood and the sense of human equality. He began with a sense of lofty superiority, then became either abject or menial and angry and aloof, but now stands forth on his feet again, to be treated and to treat others as men. The idea of equality and brotherhood on which Asia now stands is a distinctly ethical principle. Indeed, it is a purely religious principle, which East and West alike owe to the influence of Christianity. The East is beginning herself to realise that her awakening is an awakening to moral needs, and that there is only one quarter where she can find what she requires. "It is a question," said Count Okuma not long ago to young men in Japan, "whether we have not lost moral fibre as the result of the many new influences to which we have been subjected. Development has been intellectual, not moral. The efforts which Christians are making to supply to the country

a high standard of conduct are welcomed by all right-thinking people. As you read the Bible you may think it is antiquated, out of date. The words it contains may so appear, but the noble life which it holds up to admiration is something that will never be out of date, however much the world may progress. Live and preach this life, and you will supply to the nation just what it needs at the present juncture." And we see in Asia, also, a great religious awakening. We see it in the growth of eager, living, aggressive Christian churches among the natives of these lands, but even more in the widespread groping and discontent, the decaying worship at idol shrines, the increasing apology for idolatry, the abandonment of popular forms of religion in the interest of what is esoteric or in the interest of older forms now construed in Christian terminology, in the anxious search for the secret of power.

And this condition of transition and opportunity which we see in Asia, we see also in Africa and South America. The social, industrial, and political changes which are passing over Africa, the southward movement of Islam, the need of a unifying power, the call for life from dying peoples, and in South America nations with deepening moral needs because without God, with a Church which has given men a cross without a Christ, a dead man without a living Saviour, which has separated ethics from religion and lost its power to redeem life, and which calls as loudly for the vivifying challenge of foreign missions as Hinduism or Islam, with a civilisation developing fast on a basis of trade, but with no adequate foundation in popular education or in religious principle—the conditions of Africa and South America press upon the Christian Church with an appeal as urgent as Asia's.

Men need the Gospel, and they need it now. And the nations need the Gospel, and they need it now. And the need of men and nations will not delay. These conditions lay a great burden upon us. This great awakening will prove an evil and disaster if it is not moralised, and it can be moralised only by Christianity. The pressing question is, shall we have a renaissance without a reformation, an awakening of the world's commercial passion

and its intellectual life without any awakening of its soul, or with its awakened soul unfed? "History," says Professor Lindsay, "knows nothing of revivals of moral living apart from some new religious impulse. The motive power has always come through leaders who have had communion with the unseen." Has our communion been real enough to make us leaders, to give us vision of our opportunity and will to be obedient to our vision?

There are those, however, who tell us that we ought not to interfere with the religious ideas and institutions of the non-Christian peoples. Some say that they are not worth trying to win to Christianity. I am only quoting what we hear year in and year out. No one who really knows what Christianity is will say this because he knows that it is of one blood that God has made all men. No one who knows history will say this because he knows that it was from such as these that Christianity made men out of his ancestors. No one who knows the non-Christian races will say this, because he knows that there is in them as good material for the Gospel to work upon as there is in the West, or has ever been in the world anywhere.

Some say that they stand in no need of Christianity. "I have found that they [the South African natives] are highly moral," says a correspondent who signs himself "Captain Late South African Field Forces," in the New York *Sun* of July 11, 1905:

> I have invariably found them, in their native state, living lives that we who call ourselves Christians would do well to pattern after. . . . It is a great pity that in giving them the benefit of our knowledge we undermine their moral character in the process. Were we all good, and were our teachers all good, capable only of acts becoming their religion, all would be well; but unfortunately, the native copies the bad as well as the good. Therefore, when our heathen brother accepts our religion because he believes it is good, inasmuch as it is ours, he also learns to drink whiskey because he sees the white man drink it; he learns to smoke because the white man smokes; he learns to lie because the white man lies to him; he learns to steal because the white man steals, and he observes that the white man has

not the same respect for moral laws that he has in his native state, and he feels his law must be wrong, and copies the white man's way.

I wish to assure you that I am not exaggerating one iota in my expressions herein. There is no honest traveller (who is not a missionary) who has observed the results of mission work in South Africa or any other country who will not support me in my assertions.

The development of heathen and unchristianised nations is a development that is made not for the benefit of the natives, but for the benefit of civilised nations, to provide new fields for the ever-increasing surplus of population. The heathen native who would live on forever, if left in his natural state, is crushed under the wheels of our ever-increasing civilisation. He is sacrificed on the altar of the white man's advancement. We have no better example of this than the North American Indian.

The white race and its methods must rule the universe, but let us not deceive ourselves by attempting to believe that our religion improves those who have not been born to it.

It will seem strange that a believer in religion could feel that the religion of Jesus Christ could destroy a race, but that is what I believe to be true. Not that the religion itself could destroy a heathen people, but we have, unfortunately, more of bad to impart to them than of good. We are anxious to impart the rules of righteousness, but, unfortunately for those whom we would teach, our lives are the reverse of our doctrine, and our heathen brethren follow not our doctrine, but the example of our daily lives.

I have quoted this curious production because it is fairly typical of much popular talk about missions, and also because it is such an odd mixture of error and truth. Would that this idyllic picture of the African native in his estate untouched by Christian missionaries were true, and that he stood in no need of our moral message, but let us read an extract from a letter from Dr. Alexander Brown of the Livingstonia Mission, dated Serenje, N. E. R., 14th September, 1908:

I shall never forget the poor drunken creature of a chief who staggered along the path to meet me, shot his arm up in the air, and, by way of good-morning said, " Thank you, mas-

ter"; or the drunken village I passed through, whose collections of half-naked maudlin women sat drinking beer and singing. Or another village I approached on a Saturday night after a long day's tramp, utterly fagged out. A Saturday night at home was curiously persistent in my thoughts as I drew near it. There was general shouting and singing going on, which did not cease as I entered the village just at dark. "What's the noise about?" "Beer drinking, sir." It is the nearest resemblance to the Glasgow Green on a Saturday night I have yet seen in Africa. There was general restlessness, excitement, and singing, or rather shouting. It kept up for hours, and grew louder, and a fire was set agoing, then a hut caught it, or it was done intentionally, and the lurid flames leapt up and lapped it round and the roof crashed down, and I thought there was danger of a general conflagration. But my boys laughed at my fears. I went over to it in among the crowd, of whom two drunken women were specially distinguishing themselves by their howling and rolling on the ground. "What is the matter with these two, Yona?" I asked. "One, sir," he said, "is crying for her pot, and the other is crying for her beer." I went away to my tent sick at heart.

Surely there is as great need here for whatever the Gospel can do as there is in Glasgow. And indeed, it is at this point that the strongest opposition, or at any rate, the heaviest lethargy is found, at least in America. There is so much to be done at home that it is wrong to divert Christian energies into the work of distant missions. Another newspaper correspondent puts the objection forcibly:

If India were the only country in the world with souls in peril, the case [for foreign missions, says he] would be very different; but with the world as it is, the game is not worth the candle. One mission like Jerry McAuley's in the slums of New York does more lasting good and to better subjects than any dozen in India or Africa. All the missionaries in India could be located in the three cities of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, to say nothing of others with slums just as black, and have plenty of room for more. It is not only a waste of good material to send missionaries to the sticks and stones of India, so long as we have such frightful fields for missionary work in our great cities, but it is a sin against sinners worthy

of salvation. [For he has already pointed out that] the high caste Hindu's mind is no more capable of moulding itself to the requirements of such a religion as ours and thinking our thoughts about it, than he is to set up for himself and maintain over all India a republican government. Christians worthy of such a Saviour as ours are made of very different stuff from that which forms the natives of good caste. As for those who are so low as to have no caste to lose, shall we seek to clothe asses with immortality?—(W. T. HORNADAY, in the New York *Tribune*, December 2d, 1885.)

The Hindu who objects to Christian missions would not be likely to welcome this ally, but it is the natural and significant fact that those who have the highest estimate of the non-Christian peoples are not the opponents but the friends of missions.

Foreign missions, however, do not rob or weaken the forces of the Church at home. They multiply them. The home mission work has had most of its roots in the foreign missionary spirit. In America it was foreign missions which originated the home mission activities. To recall the foreign missionaries and curtail the work would be to paralyse and ultimately to annihilate both home missions and the Church herself. Her life would dry up and God would cast her sapless boughs aside to be burned. Every man sent abroad enlists the energy of ten men in the home work of the Church, and every dollar sent abroad means the investment of ten in the work of redeeming those lands whose salvation depends upon the fidelity with which they seek to save others.

For these lands are not keeping at home their agencies of evil. That is the truth in the words of the South African captain. All over the world new hate, new lust, new vice, new wrong have gone out from Christendom. Are they to be allowed to go unchecked? Are we to evangelise the world with the worst we know and not with the best? Are our brothels and saloons, both stocked from the West, to be set up in the East, and the church, the hospital, and the school to be withheld?

But it is held by some that the whole outward movement is wrong. The East should be let alone. It has a right to

live its own life, and to think its own thoughts, and to pursue its own ancient way undisturbed. Its civilisations and religions are its own, and better adapted to it than ours can be. The whole outward movement of Christendom is an impertinence and an invasion. There are some who say this only of our religious mission. The commercial and political invasion they justify. But on what ground? If there is one aspect of our relationship to the non-Christian nations which can be singled out and defended as resting on superior grounds it is our religious propaganda. It asks nothing in return. It seeks only to give. It is willing to be judged by facts. But we do not seek now to separate it for two reasons: first, because the rest of our Western projection upon the non-Christian world needs, as has already been pointed out, the moralising influence of the Christian mission, and secondly, because I believe that it is not by what we call the foreign missionary movement alone that God is working upon the non-Christian world. This movement is not charged with all the responsibility of Christendom. It is given, as we shall see, a certain distinct work to do, and that work is the fundamental and indispensable work, but all the outgoing of the Christian nations upon the non-Christian world should bear upon it the stamp of God's mission, it should seek the good of the world, it should make its contribution toward the building, here on earth, of that kingdom in which men shall serve God as His sons. The missionary enterprise has always seen that it was the foundation and the custodian of the justifying principle of intercourse between East and West. Now, at last, the other forces entering into that intercourse are realising it also. "The change of sentiment in favour of the foreign missionary in a single generation," says Mr. Roosevelt, "has been remarkable. The whole world, which is rapidly coming into neighbourhood relations, is recognising, as never before, the real needs of mankind and is ready to approve and strengthen all the moral forces which stand for the uplift of humanity. There must be government for the orderly and permanent development of society. There must be intercourse among peoples in the interests of commerce and growth. But,

above all, there must be moral power, established and maintained under the leadership of good men and women. The upright and farseeing statesman, the honest and capable trader, and the devoted Christian missionary represent the combined forces which are to change the Africa of to-day into the greater and better Africa of the future. . . . Beyond question of rule or traffic are the responsibilities of America as to the moral uplift of the people of Africa. This responsibility is to be met in co-operation with the Christian forces of other nations." We are content to take this view. The principle of the missionary enterprise should be the guiding and dominating element in our contact with all the non-Christian nations.

It is futile to protest against that contact, to say that the non-Christian nations should be left undisturbed. That issue is closed. They are already disturbed. The West never had any idea of leaving them undisturbed. When they would not trade with us we fought with them and compelled them to trade. When their internal condition impeded trade, we interfered and suppressed their rebellions, or policed their politics, or bodily took over their governments. The world simply will not stop to listen to the man who raises a vain protest against the whole genius of history. The world knows itself to be one world, and that no part of it is to be alien and caviar to the rest, and no part of the world is more bent upon this intercourse than the East. The non-Christian nations are open and will not be closed. They intend to have for themselves the power which they see resides in civilisation. The simple question is, will we give them the good or let them have the evil only; will we give them the reality, or let them deceive themselves with the sham? Are we to trade with them, selling them things, and not have with them a truly human intercourse, sharing with them our thoughts and sympathies, and above all, our hopes, our knowledge, not of the world only, but also of Him who made the world and us men as brothers to live in it?

And the idea that the East ever enjoyed a placid and contented civilisation of its own, that it ever was satisfied with its own ideas and institutions, or if it was, should have been

allowed to remain so, is the delusion of those who never knew the East or darker Africa. Arminius Vambery is a witness who testifies of what he knows. "During the much-extolled golden era of the history of Asia," says he in "Western Culture in Eastern Lands," "tyranny and depotism were the ruling elements, justice a vain chimera, everything depended on the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and a prolonged period of rest and peace was quite the exception. Asiatics, from motives of vanity or inborn laziness, may condone these abnormal conditions, but still it remains our duty to recognise the true state of affairs, and to take pity upon our poor oppressed fellow-men. Without our help, Asia will never rise above its low level; and even granted that the politics of European powers are not purely unselfish, we must nevertheless, keeping the ultimate object in view, approve of the interference of Europe in the affairs of the East, and give the undertaking our hearty support. Viewed in this light, we may be thankful that the Christian world for 300 years has been unceasing in its interference in Asiatic affairs." But once again, we cannot but reflect how different the whole history would have been, and upon what a different world we should now look out, if, after penetrating the life of the Roman Empire, or in the very penetration of that life, the Church had moved eastward also, not in the frustrate mission of the Nestorian Church in the seventh century only, but with such a spirit and such a Gospel as a truly world-compassing Church would possess by virtue of the confirming and purifying power of her obedience. Before Islam had petrified the life of Western Asia and set up the Crescent where the full sun might have shone, long ages before wrong and injustice in international dealings had sown hatred and distrust in central and eastern Asia, before the bloody centuries, East and West, had twisted all human institutions and deflected the human spirit, the Gospel of peace and love and life and equality might have remade the world. It can do it still.

If it is to do it, Christian nations, and the Western nations ought to be Christian nations, must represent the Gospel in their dealings with other nations. We cannot do our duty to the

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world by sending it the Gospel through the professional missionary movement at the same time that we traduce the Gospel politically. The Earl of Clarendon wrote a letter once, years ago when he was principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Great Britain's esteemed friend, Sekeletu, Chief of the Mokololo in South Central Africa, and this is what he said:

Ours is a great commercial and Christian nation, and we desire to live in peace with all men. We wish others to sleep soundly as well as ourselves; and we hate the trade in slaves. We are all the children of one common Father; and the slave-trade being hateful to Him, we give you a proof of our desire to promote your prosperity by joining you in the attempt to open up your country to peaceful commerce. With this view the Queen sends a small steam vessel to sail along the river Zambesi, which you know and agreed to be the best pathway for conveying merchandise, and for the purpose of exploring which Dr. Livingstone left you the last time. This is, as all men know, "God's pathway"; and you will, we trust, do all that you can to keep it a free pathway for all nations, and let no one be molested when travelling on the river.

We are a manufacturing people, and make all the articles which you see and hear of as coming from the white men. We purchase cotton and make it into cloth; and if you will cultivate cotton and other articles, we are willing to buy them. No matter how much you may produce, our people will purchase it all. Let it be known among all your people, and among all the surrounding tribes, that the English are the friends and promoters of all lawful commerce, but that they are the enemies of the slave-trade and slave-hunting.

We assure you, your elders and people, of our friendship, and we hope that the kindly feelings which you entertain toward the English may be continued between our children's children; and, as we have derived all our greatness from the Divine religion we received from Heaven, it will be well if you consider it carefully when any of our people talk to you about it.

We hope that Her Majesty's servants and people will be able to visit you from time to time in order to cement our friendship, and to promote mutual welfare; and, in the meantime, we recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

If the West would always speak in this way to the non-Christian world, if it would hate opium and robbery and im-

morality and plunder and dishonesty as much as it hates slavery, if it would practise the Christianity which its missionary representatives preach, if it would realise that its political duty to the non-Christian world is a missionary duty as truly as that the Church is bound to serve all the world, the rest of the task would be easier. And the Christian nations of the West cannot recognise their responsibility too soon. The life of the Church is not more truly bound up in her world-wide mission than the life of the state is dependent upon her acceptance of her Christian duty as a missionary power. For the foreign missionary principle is the condition of life. "I declare my conviction," said Sir William Hunter, "that English missionary enterprise is the highest modern expression of the world-wide national life of our race. I regard it as the spiritual complement of England's instinct for colonial expansion and imperial rule, and I believe that any falling off in England's missionary efforts would be a sure sign of swiftly coming national decay."

But what we are considering now is our missionary duty and the motives which will lift us to discharge this duty. It is true that all Christendom lies under the missionary duty, and that there are motives which should lead the great forces which we call Christendom to fulfil their missionary tasks, but the central question is the question of our own personal action. Have we taken up our duty? If we have not, what motives will lead us to do so? "Those motives," replies the New York *Evening Post,* "are now almost purely humanitarian. The educational, the medical, the civilising work of missionaries, which in many countries has undoubtedly been wonderfully beneficent and fruitful, this is the great argument for missions. It is on this that the emphasis should be put, and we are sure that it would mean dollars in the mission treasuries if a franker stand were taken upon this rational and practical basis. Missions would get on better, as most people do, by taking one world at a time." The shortest and most summary reply to this view would probably be found in the missionary contributions of the writer of this editorial. The humanitarian motives have their place, but the missionary duty rests on deeper foundations, the

missionary spirit flows from deeper springs. The Church will lift herself to her missionary task, not when she has learned to forget the eternal world, but when she has learned to remember it, when she sees in men not only bodies to be healed and minds to be taught, but souls to be saved, the image of Christ to be wrought out; not when her ideal is Western civilisation, but when, with an eye the more humane for the vision, she sees, though yet from afar, a kingdom of God to come upon the earth and a thorn-crowned King waiting for that kingdom. Those men will go as missionaries, and those men will support them as they go, whom the love of Christ constrains, the love of Christ, and of the souls for whom Christ died.

II

THE MISSIONARY AIM AND METHODS

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THE missionary enterprise is a religious enterprise. This does not make its problems simple, but it makes both its aim and its methods much simpler than they would otherwise be. Of course, if religion is conceived to take in the whole of human life and to include politics and industry and all the activities and relationships of men, we have not made any progress in defining the purpose of the missionary movement by calling it religious. But while the Christian conception of religion is indeed all-embracing, it recognises a necessity of definition and does not confuse the relations and functions of family, state, and Church, and it acknowledges social and national duties which are missionary in character, and which religion is to inspire, but which it is not the formal duty of Christianity organised in the Church to control.

The West and Western nations, which owe all their good to Christianity, are under a heavy debt to the rest of the world, which it is not the function of the Christian Church to discharge. It is the function of the Christian Church to inspire the Christian nations to do justice and to give help to the non-Christian nations, but there are many great and truly Christian services with which the foreign missionary enterprise is not charged. They are to be rendered through other forms of international relationship. The suppression of the slave trade was one such service. Alas, that in this and in the suppression of the trade in liquor and opium and in firearms among savage peoples the service of the West should consist so largely merely in the discontinuance of its own wrongdoing! And even of all the duties which Christianity is to perform toward the world, foreign missions are

not the sole executive. Most of the work of Christianity among the non-Christian nations is to be done, not through foreign missions at all, but through the great Christian Churches which are to grow up indigenously in these nations, and something is to be left to be done by the great Churches of the West in friendly co-operation with the new Churches, when the distinctive need for foreign missions will have wholly passed away. "That Christ's religion and Christian missions," says a thoughtful missionary writer, "have the leading part to play in the alleviation of woes and sufferings, in the removal of human ills and wrongs, in the social progress of the world, can admit of no doubt whatever." Yes, but the leadership of Christ's religion is permanent and complete, and the leadership of Christian missions is temporary and partial. Christ's religion and Christian missions are not separate and co-ordinate forces. The one force is Christ's religion. Christian missions are merely the agency by which that religion makes its first and purest impact upon the world. When the religion has struck in its roots, it will do its work and dispense with this agency.

Two further distinctions will bring us still closer to a true definition of the aim of foreign missions. First, the aim is not to be confounded with the results. Many things result which are not primarily aimed at. The Levant is astir to-day, and the Turkish Empire and the Caliphate have been shaken; the Iwakura Embassy went forth from Japan and came back with fixed and clarified purposes of national transformation; the Chinese treaties of 1858 opened the Empire to Christianity and authorised for the Chinese people what had been a *religio illicita;* great wrongs which had become imbedded in the religions of India have died, and great movements of reform in Hinduism have come to life,—all these things not because the missionaries made them their aim, but as the inevitable result of the work they were doing in seeking to achieve that which was their aim. If they had aimed at some of these things, they would surely have missed them. How long would a Christian mission have been tolerated in the Turkish Empire, which had proclaimed as its aim the dissolution of Turkish absolutism? He that would

seek to save his life shall lose it. That law is of wide application in the life and work of men. The work of foreign missions in planting the divine life in the dead nations is releasing energies whose consequences no man can foretell. Immense moral, social, and political effects are inevitable, but these are not the aim of missions. They are its accessory results. "The mission that is to prove of permanent value," says a religious journal, "must aim at a thorough reconstruction of the whole social fabric." I think not. Christianity will instinctively destroy all that is evil in any society, and its end will be thorough reconstruction of the whole social fabric. But that is the far-off, ultimate issue of missions, not their immediate aim. This journal's view confuses the work of missions with the whole work of Christianity. The work of missions will be done long before these results have been attained, and the foreign missionary enterprise must refuse to accept this responsibility.

In the second place, the aim of missions is not to be confounded with the means or methods employed for its realisation. We often start out to use a method to an end or to accomplish an accepted aim, but the method becomes itself the end and conceals the real aim. The aim may be difficult and the method easy, those for whom we work may be averse to our end but eager for our agency, the means employed may be in themselves beneficent; in such circumstances we easily content ourselves with the prosecution of our methods, allowing our aim to fall into the background or to await a more favourable time. There may often be no other course than this open to us. In such case, we need only to make sure that the aim is still there, that the methods are kept true to it, and that we ourselves have not lost our loyalty but are only waiting for the first suitable hour. But we must not be as that ambassador who was sent to negotiate a treaty of union and bidden to use every friendly resource, and who so lost himself amid his resources that he came back with good-will, but with no more. The maintenance of hospitals and schools is not the aim of Christian missions. They are the methods by which it is to achieve the real end. Preaching is not the supreme aim of the missionary. That,

too, is simply a method, and a man may lose himself and his aim in that method as easily as in any other.

What, then, is the supreme and determining aim of foreign missions? It is something religious, and it is something as near the vital and living core of religion as can possibly be. It must include that and as little beside that as is possible. It is to make Christ known to the world with a view to real results, for time, as well as for eternity, and to the incorporation of these results in living national character. In other words, the aim of missions includes three things,—first, the proclamation of Christ; second, the salvation of men, and third, the naturalisation of Christianity.

Let us consider each of these. First, it is the aim of missions to make Jesus Christ known to the world. Some will say that this is simple enough. Our business is to preach the Gospel. Yes, but what is the Gospel that is to be preached, and what is it to preach it? The problem is by no means as simple as it appears. We think we know what the Gospel was which Paul preached and which constituted the message of the Church in the missionary expansion of the first two centuries. Harnack is sure that the one living God, as Creator, Jesus the Saviour, the resurrection and self-control formed the four conspicuous features in the new propaganda. "Along with this, the story of Jesus must have been briefly communicated (in the statements of Christology), whilst the resurrection was generally defined as the resurrection of the flesh, and self-control identified with social purity, and then extended to include renunciation of the world and mortification of the flesh."—(HARNACK, "Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I, p. 111.) The facts of Christianity remain what they were, and men can state them, but is that preaching the Gospel, is that making Christ known? The problem is not so easy. Those who have tried most earnestly best realise the difficulties. "The moment I could speak the language," says an ingenious missionary to Mohammedans, "and began to see something of the people, man after man would come to me, all with the same question, 'We have heard a great deal, a great deal of Christian teaching, and a great deal about

Jesus Christ, but Sahib, *matlab chist?'* which may be translated, 'What is the point of it all?'"—(MALCOLM, "Five Years in a Persian Town," p. 202.) If any one should say that making Christ known is simply showing to others the beauty of His character, that is no simple task. The late Mr. A. G. Jones, of the English Baptist Mission in Shantung, one of the freshest and most vigorous minds in China, said that even that task baffled him, and Mr. Townsend said some years ago of India:

The character of Christ is not, I am convinced, as acceptable to Indians as it is to the northern races. It is not so completely their ideal, because it is not so visibly supernatural, so completely beyond any point which they can, unassisted by divine grace, hope to attain. The qualities which seemed to the warriors of Clovis so magnificently divine, the self-sacrifice, the self-denial, the resignation, the sweet humility, are precisely the qualities the germs of which exist in the Hindu. He seeks, like every other man, the complement of himself, and not himself again, and stands before Christ at first comparatively unattracted. The ideal in his mind is as separate as was the ideal in the Jews' mind of their expected Messiah, and though the ideals of Jew and Hindu are different, the effect is in both cases the same—a passive, dull repulsion, scarcely to be overcome save by the special grace of God. I never talked frankly with a Hindu in whom I did not detect this feeling to be one inner cause of his rejection of Christianity. He did not want that particular sublimity of character, but another, something more of the sovereign and legislator.

The character of Christ wields a far greater attraction in India to-day. But preaching the Gospel, making Christ known, is something far more than describing to men the beauty of His character, but just what it is and how it can be done in the truest and most effective way are questions so deep that they lift the missionary enterprise to a level of its own. Mr. Jones keenly felt, as all true missionaries feel the burden of these questions.

There are [said he] those who believe the true course is, without further preparation, to proclaim and declare Christ, His deity, and His saving work of atonement, first and always, to

every creature, irrespective of the hearer's state of heart, as the true sequence of truth, as the Scriptural, the speediest, and most effective way. Now this has been done on a vast scale in India and China, with a sincerity, perseverance, and zeal that admits of no question; by men, too, that were both pious and spiritual, and in a way that compels the highest admiration. The one fact, however, that voices itself above every other, is the utter disproportion of the results to the efforts, and it is this which at once both raises doubts and compels investigation as to the correctness of this principle of working. I believe with all my heart in the preaching of Jesus Christ and His atonement as the very and essential truth of God; but I believe, also, it is utterly useless, profitless, and meaningless unless the existence of God, the rule of God, the reality of the after-life, and the certainty of a future retribution be, to some extent, believed by the inquiring soul, if indeed in any sense inquiring at all. The efficacy of the Gospel is not like the chemical efficacy of some substances on other substances, as the efficacy of spells, or passwords, but lies in its spiritual adaptation for bringing the soul to be in an attitude of harmony with God, if that God be known and that harmony desired. . . . The question is one which the increasing experience of the Church in her missionary work among cultured nations increasingly calls attention to, *i.e.*, the true principles and right method of evangelising the heathen. Faith in Jesus is the *best* of all evidence when a man has got it, but as to how he is to be helped to get it, and how he is *not* to be hindered in getting it, this is my one day's contribution. Judge not according to the appearance or the letter, but judge righteous judgment. Idols are worshipped and false gods trusted, after a certain fashion, and hold their own. *We* do not want Christ worshipped or trusted in *that* way, but collaterally with an internal process of a spiritual character. That process seldom results from mere assertions unless they be as real rays of light entering into the very centre of a man's heart and making the person and power of Jesus Christ a living reality to the soul. I do not for a moment believe that the ordinary view, that Christianity fails mostly or solely for want of faith, or because the hearers are so evil, is the right one. Nay, it often fails, even under fair conditions, because we so mar it in the preaching, and because we so fail to demonstrate its spirit and its power.

What Mr. Jones, whose tragic death was an untold loss to missions in China, has said of conditions on the mission field

is as true of conditions at home. The fruit, indeed, is greater there than here, though with us the difficulties are infinitely less, for we have the ideas to build upon. He forgets, or in his stern humility ignores, the effectiveness with which even our stumbling efforts do make Christ known. He passes over the great fact of life that Christ is each man's head and will find His way to him. But his words express clearly the difficulty and the necessity of the primary missionary aim, which is to bring the living Christ home to men.

In the second place, the aim is to do this with a view to results, not only in the general acquaintance of the nations with the Christian ideal, but also in the salvation of individual men. The missionary movement may not absolve itself from responsibility here. It may not say, "Our aim is to make Christ known, whether they will hear or not. The results are with God." There is, of course, a measure of truth in this view, but on the other hand, if there are no results, how can we be sure that we have made Christ known? We believe that everywhere there are those whom in His exquisite Oriental speech our Lord called His sheep, who, when they hear their Shepherd's voice, will follow Him. If none respond, how can we be sure that any have heard? We are to aim at and work for the actual conversion of men, and not be content with witness-bearing, heedless of result or seed-sowing for future harvest. The late Dr. Ellinwood, who represented a view of missionary effort which gave full allowance to the wider aspects of the work as they are usually called, toward the close of his life felt the importance of this primary work of missions as his chief burden.

Another thing [he said] which I would place in the very forefront among the impressions which have grown upon my mind is this: that the importance of our work, whether in the actual contact of the missionary on the field or the planning and stimulus of the work here at home, should be the conversion of men. Do you ask why I utter such a truism as this? I do it because I think that too often a feeling has grown up that our work is to prepare the way for somebody hereafter to reap the harvest. There is no phrase as much abused as that of "seed-sowing." There is a legitimate sowing of the

seed, but neither the phrase nor the idea should be made a subterfuge or an excuse for a limp and self-contented inefficiency. A missionary in Benares belonging to one of the British Societies once told me that he had preached the Gospel in that city ten years, but he had never, so far as he knew, been the means of any conversion, and when I showed some surprise at his apparent freedom from concern, he said that it was his business to preach the Word,—he really had nothing to do with results. Quite different was the feeling of Mr. Hudson Taylor, when in the great missionary conference of 1900 he urged the missionaries to aim at the conversion of men at once, even though it might be the first and possibly the only opportunity, and he gave instances in which the work of the Spirit had thus directly owned the message and made it effectual. As we turn back to the New Testament, I think we find that that was very much the way in which believers were expected to respond when Peter and John and Stephen and Paul proclaimed to them the message of salvation. I once heard the secretary of a missionary Board say that about the least concern of all to the missionary was the question of numbers received into the Church. His meaning was good, but it was a careless and one-sided statement. It must be admitted that sometimes a great and exclusive emphasis is put upon the statistics of church membership. But dissent from this view has, I think, been carried too far and indicates a lack of that travail for souls of which Paul speaks. I am fully persuaded that the unit of measurement in preaching the Gospel of reconciliation is the individual soul.

Was this not what Jesus sought when He came here to win men? Was this not what He charged His disciples to do, namely, to make disciples of others, even of all nations? Was not this what Paul sought, the persuasion of men to believe in Christ and to follow Him in His Church? I certainly believe that this is the aim of foreign missions and of every agency employed by foreign missions. I know that there are some who hold a different view. One of the most honoured and distinguished leaders in educational work on the foreign field set forth a different view some years ago in a lecture to his students at Madras. "We have institutions for education around us," said Dr. Miller, "which deliberately decline to turn the thoughts of those trained in them toward every divine purpose,—which are not intended to suggest any thoughts beyond those that belong to the brief

lives of individual men on earth. We have other institutions which, working rather on the Greek and Roman ideal than on Christ's, make it their one overmastering aim to bring men over from other schemes of life, and to place them within the Christian fold. With neither of these classes of schools and colleges have I any quarrel. . . . But you, amid such imperfection in those who trained you and yet not wholly without success, have been trained differently. . . . To you,—if you have at all received the Spirit of your training—to you it is a familiar thought, nay, it is the guiding thought of all, that while God's moral work, like all His works, is organised around a centre, it is yet something wider far than any Church or system or race, nay, that it embraces every land and age, and extends to every member of the human family." These words raise a great question and embody truth, and, I think, also some error. I quote them now as setting forth an aim which we do not regard as the great aim of missions, and dismissing as Greek and Roman, rather than Christian, what we do regard as the supreme aim and chief business of the missionary enterprise, namely, making Christ known to individual men with a view to their open personal acceptance of Him as their only Lord and Saviour. This aim is sometimes condemned by the supposedly opprobrious term of proselytising. But what is meant by proselytising? If it means to take a good follower of one religion and to make him into a bad follower of another, then it goes without saying that it is not worth while. But if to win a man to Christ, to take an adherent of any other religion or a man of no religion and make him a true disciple of Christ—if that be proselytising, then that, as we understand it, is exactly what the work of foreign missions aims to do.

This also, as those who have tried it know best, is no easy task. Robert Morrison wrought seven years before his first convert was won. To make Christ known in a way that satisfies the heart and mind of the preacher is a great achievement. To make Christ known in a way that convinces the heart and mind and will of the hearer is a greater one. Only the divine Spirit, Who we believe is at work in the enterprise, can effect

either. He can effect and is daily effecting both. For the work is simpler, as well as more difficult, than it appears. In many ways, by many doors, on many angles of the infinite and adequate truth of God in Christ is the Spirit through men reaching men and making them the open and fearless followers of the Saviour.

The third element of the missionary aim is the naturalisation of Christianity in the non-Christian lands. Its aim is not to impose our Western systems of theology or our Western forms of Church government upon the converts who may be gathered upon the mission field. It is to make Christ known to these peoples, to bring together those who accept him, and to establish them in indigenous organisations which will take their own forms and come to their own statements of the truth of Christianity, as wrought out in their own study of the Bible and their own Christian experience. It is not the aim of missions to denationalise those who become Christian disciples, to interfere with styles of dress or modes of life, to give Occidental institutions to them or to Westernise their minds or hearts. It is their aim to carry to all the world the universal elements of the one adequate religion, the knowledge of the one Saviour of men, and to secure that permanent and effective perpetuation and that adequate apprehension of the truth by men which are possible only in the corporate association of the Church, one over all the earth, and yet adapted to the genius and needs of each people.

It is in this adaptation of her missions to national conditions that the Roman Catholic Church is supposed to have been specially wise. The supposition is erroneous. The great mistake of the Roman Church has been in the iron imposition of her forms, both of doctrine and of institution, absorbing much evil, it is true, in such adaptation as she has permitted, but crushing out spontaneity and life, and drawing everything under an essentially alien rule. "It presents," says Professor Moore, "the singular contrast of being the faith which professes to differ most absolutely from all others, yet visibly differing very little from the old faiths of its converts, and giving them but a con-

fused sense of anything beyond an external allegiance to a punctilious routine for which it stands. The Roman Church, therefore, represents the phenomenon of the naturalisation of Christianity in the Orient in a form in which it is only too easy to say that, if this is what is meant by naturalisation of Christianity, then the less we have to do with it the better."—(E. C. MOORE, in the *Harvard Theological Review,* July, 1908, p. 273.) Catholic writers admit the fact of their alien ideals. "Even at Peking," writes one of them, "where there are old Christian families of three hundred years' standing, the Chinese priests require the support of a European missionary. . . . The missionaries are of opinion that it is only after four generations that the Chinese can be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Catholic faith. For this reason, only Chinamen whose families have been Catholics for two or three centuries are admitted to the priesthood. Converts of a recent date are never accepted without a special dispensation, which is seldom applied for, and which is still more seldom granted."—(KELLY, "Another China," p. 74.) The Roman Catholic aim, in other words, is the importation of a foreign ecclesiastical system. In South America men will tell you frankly that the greatest evils which ever befell the continent were its discovery by Spaniards and the imposition of an alien religious institution which was not a fountain of indigenous life.

Now it is charged against Protestant missions that they have made in principle the same mistake as Roman Catholics, and have simply carried out into the non-Christian nations a Western set of ideals, body of social usages, and form of religious organisation. Let us listen to the charges. "The Christian religion," says Arminius Vambery, "may in the beginning have borne many traces of Asiaticism; but in its further development it has decidedly adapted itself to Western views; and as an amalgamation of Aryan and Semitic ideas, as Seeley expresses it, has become a European religion *par excellence.* As such, it is a development foreign to the Asiatic mind; a faith which does not coincide with his tastes and conception of life, and an anonymous author in the *Contemporary Review* is about right

when he concludes his instructive article entitled "Islam and Christianity in India,' with the remark: 'Mohammedan proselytism succeeds in India because it leaves its converts Asiatics still. Christian proselytism fails in India because it strives to make of its converts English middle-class men. That is the truth in a nutshell, whether we choose to accept it or not.'"—(VAMBERY, "Western Culture in Eastern Lands," Ch. VIII.) Hear, also, Mr. Townsend, who is the anonymous writer whom Mr. Vambery quotes:

The missionaries are Europeans [he says] divided from the people by a barrier as strong as that which separates a Chinaman from a Londoner, by race, by colour, by dress, by incurable differences of thought, of habit, of taste, and of language. The last named the missionary sometimes, though by no means always, overcomes, but the remaining barriers he cannot overcome, for they are rooted in his very nature, and he does not try. He never becomes an Indian, or anything which an Indian could mistake for himself; the influence of civilisation is too strong for him. He cannot help desiring that his flock should become "civilised" as well as Christians; he understands no civilisation not European, and by unwearied admonition, by governing, by teaching, by setting up all manner of useful industries, he tries to bring them up to his narrow ideal. That is, he becomes a pastor on the best English model; part preacher, part schoolmaster, part ruler; always doing his best, always more or less successful, but always with an eye to a false end—the Europeanisation of the Asiatic—and always acting through the false method of developing the desire of imitation. There is the curse of the whole system, whether of missionary work or of education in India. The missionary, like the educationist, cannot resist the desire to make his pupils English, to teach them English literature, English science, English knowledge; often—as in the case of the vast Scotch missionary colleges, establishments as large as universities, and as successful in teaching—through the medium of English alone. He wants to saturate Easterns with the West. The result is that the missionary becomes an excellent pastor or an efficient schoolmaster instead of a proselytiser, and that his converts or their children or the thousands of pagan lads he teaches become in exact proportion to his success a hybrid caste, not quite European, not quite Indian, with the originality killed out of them, with self-reliance weakened, with all mental

aspirations wrenched violently in a direction which is not their own. It is as if Englishmen were trained by Chinamen to become not only Buddhists, but Chinese. The first and most visible result is a multiplication of Indians who know English, but are not English, either in intellectual ways or in morals; and the second is that, after eighty years of effort, no great native missionary has arisen, that no great Indian Church has developed itself on lines of its own, and that the ablest missionaries say sorrowfully that white supervision is still needed, and that if they all retired, the work might even now be undone. . . . Christianity in a new people must develop civilisation for itself, not be smothered by it, still less be exhausted in the impossible effort to accrete to itself a civilisation from the outside. Natives of India, when they are Christians, will be and ought to be Asiatics still—that is, as unlike English rectors or English dissenting ministers as it is possible for men of the same creed to be, and the effort to squeeze them into those moulds not only wastes power, but destroys the vitality of the original material.

These are faithful words, and we are saying them ourselves. "One going into a Hindu or Chinese Christian Church," says Professor Moore on his return from his missionary visitation, "is positively astounded to see how completely some of the converts represent, seemingly to the minutest detail, the type with which we are familiar in the devout life of our Churches here at home. . . . Their Christianity, real as it is, is still exotic. . . . Christianity is not yet naturalised. Such converts explain how their compatriots may come to look upon the Christian as denationalised, and on conversion as equivalent to denationalisation."

Now in the face of all this, we repeat that the aim of foreign missions is just what we have declared it to be. It is the naturalisation of Christianity, both as doctrine and institution in the foreign nations. But this is no more easy than the work of making Christ known or the work of winning men to His discipleship. The racial chasm exists. It is that chasm which creates the difficulty. Paul did not experience it. He was a Roman. Wherever he went he was in his own country and among his own people. Everywhere he found Jews and proselytes to Judaism. Everywhere he found Greek culture and

Greek forms of thought. Everywhere he was under Roman law and under Roman social institutions. Our missions are foreign missions, not in the sense of Paul's, but in the sense that Paul's would have been if he had gone to India or to China. We cannot go into the non-Christian world as other than we are or with anything else than that which we have. Even when we have done our best to disentangle the universal truth from the Western form that it may find the Eastern heart, we know that we have not done it. "We are there," says Dr. Gibson, "to teach the Word of God, to plant in their minds ideas which are to be the universal possession of all God's people. We are perhaps hardly aware how much our own national temperament, our own upbringing, and the schools of theology from which we come, tend to shape and colour our teaching. It requires a constant effort of watchfulness to see to it that we offer to those under our care the pure, uncoloured, universal essence of our Lord's teaching, and not the essentially Scottish or Western theology and Gospel."—(GIBSON, "Mission Problems and Mission Methods," pp. 282-286.) We are not agreed as to the essential and universal elements of Christianity here. How great is their problem who go out to plant the faith in other lands!

And even in the case of elements of Christianity which are obviously and concededly universal, do not think that it is easy to find a home for them in all lands—the sinless holiness of God in India, the fatherly goodness of God in Islam, the individuality of the soul in Japan, the personality of God in all the Buddhist lands. "They will readily understand," said a Japanese speaker in Tokyo, several years ago, referring to his countrymen, "if you say that God is Creator or that Heaven is order, but a God with personality is an idea hard for them to grasp. Even among Christians (Japanese) of the present time, the number who have really comprehended this personal God is comparatively small. . . . A ready understanding will be met with if Christ is said to be a man of perfection or perfect righteousness or the like. But the divine nature of Christ they do not readily accept. . . . The weakness of mankind they

well know. To make them take the next step, to grasp the sinfulness of sin, is the great problem. . . . To make these fundamental truths clear to the present generation is a great and agonising labour."—(WATSON, "The Future of Japan," p. 328.)

The introduction of Western elements in our intercourse with the non-Christian peoples is inevitable. The Christian missions are not the only agencies at work upon the world which carry their treasure in earthen vessels, or which have difficulty in planting their contribution as a living power. Let us hear the same witnesses we have already heard—first, Vambery, speaking of Western political policy in Asia:

A deeper insight into the actual relationship between East and West, a thorough testing of the ethnical characteristics and the ethical conditions of the elements that had to be reformed, was seldom thought necessary; it was enough to have laid out the programme of the reforms and innovations which were to take place, and afterwards we wondered why the Asiatic, dressed in clothes far too big, too wide, and too heavy for his corporeal dimensions, should drag himself along so painfully and laboriously. It was an initial mistake both on the part of the European master and of the Oriental pupil, that the modern doctrines were not made more compatible with the local, ethnical, and ethical conditions, and also more popular. If many of the new customs and notions, which must have appeared monstrous to the Moslem mind, had been made a little more attractive, the transition would have been easier. But Europe has never taken the trouble to enquire into these matters, and the Oriental does not understand such things; the several conditions of the two worlds have not been sufficiently taken into consideration, and from the consequences of these initial mistakes the Islamic world, and Turkey in particular, suffers to this day.

And next, Mr. Townsend:

English education in India may remain sterile for all national purposes. It is not a pleasant thought, but it is an unavoidable one, that the conquest of the east Aryans by the west Aryans, though it has brought such marvellous blessings in the way of peace and order and material prosperity, though it has given to millions, as Mr. Grant Duff says, all the results of political evolution without the wearying struggle for them, may have

brought also evils which overbalance, or almost overbalance, all its gifts. Not much is gained to the world because under the shadow of the Empire Bengalees increase like flies on a windless day. It is not time yet for conclusions, for the work of conquest has but just ended, and that of sowing seed has just begun; but that decay of varieties of energy, that torpor of the higher intellectual life, that pause in the application of art knowledge, from architecture down to metal work and pottery, which have been synchronous with our rule in India, these are to the philosophic observer melancholy symptoms. Why is not the world yet richer for an Indian brain? There was a Roman peace once round the Mediterranean, under which originality so died away that it is doubtful whether, but for the barbarian invasion, society would not have stereotyped itself, and even Christianity have grown fossil; and our rule, much nobler though its motive and its methods be, may be accompanied by the same decay. In the two hundred years during which Spaniards have ruled in the New World but one Indian name has reached Europe, and Juarez was only a politician. We have only to hope and to persevere; but it is impossible, when the results are from time to time summed up by cool observers like the Governor of Madras, not to feel a chilling doubt. We think little of the political childishness of educated natives on which Mr. Grant Duff is so serenely sarcastic, for that is a mere symptom of unrest, possibly healthy unrest; and we utterly disagree with him in his assertion that only a wealthy community can be well governed, holding Switzerland to be better governed than France; but the want of spontaneous effort in all directions, the limitation of ambition to a salary from the State, seem to us symptoms either of intellectual torpor or intellectual despair. We know quite well the tendency of Asia to stereotype herself, but we had hoped that British dominion would revivify her; and as yet —except possibly in the important domain of law, a reverence for which is slowly filtering down—the signs are very few. The Codes will, as Mr. Grant Duff believes, materially influence Indian thought; but then, the Codes were the work not of Eastern Aryans, but of those who conquered them. We want original Indian work; and as yet we have only men who will take any post, provided that its salary is guaranteed by the State and its work ordered and controlled regularly from above.

Christian missions are not alone in this difficulty. The difficulty, moreover, lies more with the material than with the movement. The obstacles to the naturalisation of Christianity do

not reside in any reluctance of the Christian missions to recognise this as their aim so much as in the imitativeness of the East. The new public buildings of Asia, the new furniture in her palaces, the dress of her modern statesmen, the new things which she is spontaneously taking on are copies of the West. The exotic appearance of the new religious forms is not peculiar to religion. Asia of her own accord is importing the West. The missionary movement would fain see far less of imitation and far more inward acceptance of the real principle of a new life. Our lament is not that the Eastern Churches are thinking for themselves, but that they are not thinking for themselves, that they are not working out fresh theological statements on the basis of an adequate critical study of the growth of Christian doctrine, a new search of the Scriptures, and their own new experience of God in Christ. The missionary movement is left to bear too great a burden. Its aim is to be rid of this burden, to build up native Churches which will themselves carry this burden, which will deal with their own apologetic problems, work out their own institutions, support their own activities, and evangelise their own lands; in one word, to establish independent, national Churches.

In realising this aim, however, many things will of necessity be done that will have to be undone. No one can foretell what forms of thought and what types of organisation will be developed by any national genius when wrought upon and wrought in by the living principles of the Gospel. The life will grow in these lands as it has grown elsewhere. What it had to borrow at the beginning it will throw off. It will pass through many phases. For generations it may have far more to learn from us than we from it. Can its early stages be otherwise than imitative? They are very certain, in some lands, especially in a land like China, steeped in its Confucian moralism, and Japan, destitute of the idea of personality, to have a very inadequate sense of sin. Dr. Gibson has described for us clearly and sympathetically in his book the type of Christianity developed in a field where missionaries have, nevertheless, sought earnestly to naturalise the new religion:

It is difficult to characterise with accuracy the prevalent type of Christianity which we find on our mission field. There is a great deal of simple faith, of belief in prayer, and there is at least a very frequent acknowledgment, if not a very profound sense, of the working of the Holy Spirit. The great defect which probably all missionaries in China feel, is the lack in the native Church of a keen sense of sin. The natural conscience has not, of course, lost wholly its appreciation of the distinctions between right and wrong, but sin in the Christian sense, and still more an adequate conception of the guilt of sin, are things wholly unknown to the non-Christian Chinese, and which only come very slowly to the consciousness even of the Christians. I have said that new converts are generally brought in by the example and the testimony of native Christians in private life, and so far as their conversion is a matter of doctrinal conviction, I believe experience shows that the great majority of those who accept the Christian faith do so, not because of conviction of personal sin, but because they have grasped the idea of the obvious helplessness of the idols, and the folly rather than the sin of worshipping them. From this position they attain to some knowledge and belief in the living and true God, but they seem seldom to realise that their long alienation from Him has involved any guilt. They have committed a mistake, perhaps; they have been unhappily left in the dark; but now that they have come to know God the past perhaps is too easily forgotten, and there is always a too superficial gladness in their new possession of the truth, which leads them away from that kind of self-questioning which might have led them to a deeper sense of sin. The state of mind has its advantages and its drawbacks. On the one hand, it gives a freshness, simplicity, and freedom to their testimony to the Gospel. They have no tendency to make the way of salvation seem hard to those who are outside. They reduce the Gospel to its simplest elements, and seek to lead men to it by the easiest paths. It may be that this is a right and needful stage in the early history of a Christian Church, but we who have been brought up in an older Christian life often long to see a deeper conception of spiritual things, and a larger sense of what is involved in the transition from death to life. One is often tempted to ask what the Christian religion is as it presents itself to the consciousness of many of our Christian people in China. Occasional utterances on their part give one glimpses of a system of Christian ideas some of which are strange enough, and many of which, though true and sound in themselves, differ widely

as regards emphasis and balance from the Christian system as it presents itself to our minds. Hence arises the profoundly interesting question how Christian life and theology are likely to develop themselves in a young Church like that of China, growing up amongst a people who are themselves the outcome of an ancient civilisation and intellectual life.

A Christian experience like this is not prepared to make any great contribution to theology or to the experimental understanding of our faith. It is merely the replica of a frame of mind very common among us in the West, a frame of mind capable of subtracting from, but not of adding to, the race's apprehension of the fulness of God in Christ. And in the naturalisation of Christianity we must be prepared not only for such subtraction, but also for many excesses. The Taiping rebellion is an illustration of what an indigenous interpretation of Christianity, unguided by the maturer experience of the West and divorced from organic relation with the historic Christian tradition, may produce. It will be no strange thing if the Hindu consciousness runs off into wilder and less recoverable wreckage.

The aim of the missionary movement, as we have now defined it, *i.e.*, to make Christ known to the world with a view to real results in the salvation of individuals and their organisation into living native Churches, is, accordingly, not an easy aim, but it is simple and coherent, and it is practicable. It is the aim of the mission enterprise to make Christ known to men with a view to making men disciples of Christ. This means more than inducing them, while still remaining Hindus or Mohammedans, to take a broader view of God's moral government and His education of the human race. It means their acceptance of Christ as their Saviour and Lord, as the full revelation of God and the Redeemer from sin, and their open enlistment in His service.

The aim of foreign missions is not, therefore, the civilisation of the world, any mere change in men's habits of life, any mere enlargement of men's knowledge. A multitude of agencies are operating on the world in behalf of human progress. Some are doing harm; some, mingled harm and good; some, good.

The deepest and purest of these is the force of Christianity expressed to the non-Christian world, for the most part, in the enterprise of missions. Every motive which interests men in the good of their fellows should dispose men to advance this enterprise, but the aim of the enterprise is not the civilisation of the world.

Neither is it the conversion of the world. We believe that some day Jesus Christ is to rule over all the earth, that every knee will bow and every tongue confess that He is God to the glory of God the Father, but foreign missions finished their work in Scotland and the United States before that day was reached, and they will finish their work everywhere else in the world before that day will come. The foreign missionary enterprise is not coterminous in place or time with the Church. Its business is a strictly limited business. It is to plant Christianity as a living power in each non-Christian land, develop there a Church which will have a life of its own, and assume itself the burden of responsibility for the evangelisation of its own nation. For a time longer or shorter, the missionary enterprise must remain to co-operate with the Church, and will then pass on into regions beyond, if there be yet regions beyond, while further aid will be given, if needed, and under expedient arrangements, by the Churches of Christ, as by equal to equal in a common task.

This does not dissolve the obligation expressed in the phrase, "the evangelisation of the world in this generation." That phrase embodies the solemn duty of the Christian Church. Every man has a right to know of Christ. Every man can be made to know of Christ. There are old men who will die before the Church can reach them, but it remains true, none the less, as a rough statement of fact, that we can, if we will, make Christ known to all the world in this generation. No other work will need to be left undone. No interest will suffer. On the other hand, the resolute effort of the Church, through all the channels by which she can act upon the world to make Christ known to every creature, would involve that very access and release of power, that very rediscovery of the living God,

that very opening of the healing life of God to men, which would not only carry Christ over all the world, but would also carry Him into all the world's life and make Him the redeemer of humanity. The evangelisation of the world in this generation, however, is not the full aim of the foreign missionary enterprise. The aim of this enterprise is to establish everywhere a Church that will have this for her aim, to inspire that Church as she is founded abroad, and to quicken the Church that has been founded at home to seek this end, and to co-operate with both until it is absorbed in the awakened tide of their missionary energy in their effort to realise the character of God in Christ and to fulfil the very nature of the Christian Church and the Gospel with which she is charged in the Christianisation of all the life of man.

When once the distinctive and determining aim of the missionary enterprise is clearly grasped, then we can make room for the use of almost any method. Everything is legitimate which is consistent with this aim and which helps to realise it. As Alexander Duff said in the resolution which he presented at the Conference held on the occasion of his visit to New York City in 1854 in answer to the question: "What are the divinely appointed and most efficient means of extending the Gospel of salvation to all men?"[1]

Resolved, as the general sense of this Convention, that the chief means of divine appointment for the evangelisation of the world are—the faithful teaching and preaching of the pure Gospel of salvation by duly qualified ministers and other holy and consistent disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ—accompanied with prayer and savingly applied by the grace of the Holy Spirit; such means, in the providential application of them by human agency, embracing not merely instruction by the living voice, but the translation and judicious circulation of the whole written word of God—the preparation and circulation of evangelical tracts and books—as well as any other instrumentalities fitted to bring the word of God home to men's souls—together with any processes which experience may have sanctioned as the most efficient in raising up everywhere indigenous ministers and teachers of the living Gospel.

We see this flexibility of method combined with definiteness of aim in the missionary work of St. Paul. He sought to do just what foreign missions are seeking to do, and he resorted to every method which he thought might prove serviceable. He went out to the centres over the Roman world where men were accessible and where the Church, when established, would be most influential in reaching both lives and life. He did not settle permanently in one place. His ambition was to found churches all over the Roman Empire, and especially in unevangelised territory. He was, at least to a great extent, self-supporting in his work, labouring with his own hands in some places, and at other times apparently living upon other resources. At any rate, the churches which he founded did not support him. He did not rely upon miracles, or philanthropic work of any sort. He did not supply funds for the salaries of workers in the churches. He appointed leaders of the Christians from among their own number and expected them to give liberally to aid the poor in distant places. He took the living Gospel of the divine Saviour and planted that in the soil of human life. He was his own supreme method. Christ was in him, and in him and by him Christ was preached to men.

The conditions to-day are widely different from the conditions with which Paul had to deal. We work among people of other languages, other civilisations, other intellectual and moral presuppositions, other political sovereignties, where our propaganda is entangled with contradictions. Our work is easier, but it is also more difficult than his. We go about it with his methods, and also with methods of our own—but all with the same aim.

The first method is the method of our Saviour Himself,—namely, the method of incarnation. That is the only way living truth can be communicated. Words cannot convey it. In many lands there are no words which contain or even suggest the new ideas which are to be conveyed. In China for many generations there has been a dispute as to the best term to use for God. And even if there were words, the words cannot impart life save as a living Spirit works in them, and as for the most part

they are illustrated and confirmed in life. Men must be the Gospel before men. Only by being Himself the conception of God which He came to reveal did Jesus impart that conception to men. Only by being the bread of life and the light of the world did He give nourishment and knowledge to human souls. It is so still.

It goes without saying that the man who would thus make Christ known will love the people to whom he goes and will be their friend. He may not like them. He surely will abhor much that he finds among them as he abhors much that he finds at home, but the love of Christ constrains him to love the unlikable, and that love will discover what is lovely or can be made so. The missionary enterprise sprang from such a temper, and whatever men may say about the hard motives which they suppose led our fathers to begin it, we know that it was begun in a spirit of great sympathy and desire for the most practical helpfulness. The letter which the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America addressed to its foreign missionaries in India and Africa in 1838 well illustrates this view:

> Let the heathen among whom you labour see that you love them and that you are intent on promoting their best interests. Your labours will be pleasant to yourselves, as well as more likely to benefit them in proportion to the degree in which you feel and manifest an ardent desire to advance their happiness. You can probably do much for promoting their temporal as well as their eternal welfare by recommending abstinence from intoxicating liquors, industry, the introduction of important arts and trades; and, in short, everything which has a bearing on personal and domestic comfort. Every benefit of this nature which you confer on the heathen will endear you to them, and will also prepare them more fully to profit by your evangelical ministrations. In a word, everything that you can do to lift them up in the scale of knowledge and civilisation, as well as of Christianity, will be important, and will forward the great purpose for which you are sent to them.

The supreme missionary method is this living of the Gospel. Each true missionary is in himself a proclamation of Christ.

Without a word he is making Christ known if he is living Christ before the people. The simple fact that all over the non-Christian world are little companies of Christian men and women who are living the Christian life and in themselves revealing Christ, is a missionary agency of greater power than any other, and without which no other would be of any power at all.

The truly great missionaries, accordingly, have been the men and women of love in whom Christ has shone forth. The richer their intellectual capacities and personal force, the better, but only provided through these also Christ was made known to men. Let us recall, for illustration, three great missionaries who were men of rare qualities, but whose chief power and service were their ceaseless witness to Christ in all that they were and did. The first is Adoniram Judson. His missionary ideal was set forth in a letter home: "In encouraging other young men to come out as missionaries, do use the greatest caution. One wrong-headed, conscientiously-obstinate fellow would ruin us. Humble, quiet, persevering men; men of sound, sterling talents (though, perhaps, not brilliant), of decent accomplishments, and some natural aptitude to acquire a language; men of an amiable, yielding temper, willing to take the lowest place, to be the least of all and the servant of all; men who enjoy much closet religion, who live near to God, and are willing to suffer all things for Christ's sake, without being proud of it, these are the men. . . . But O! how unlike to this description is the writer of it."

But those who knew him felt that he did embody this ideal, and his own spiritual principles show how fervently he sought to represent Christ in his own person and to glorify Him, whether by life or by death:

Points of Self-denial

1. The passion for neatness, uniformity, and order in arrangement of things—in dress, in writing, in grounds..

2. A disposition to suffer annoyance from little improprieties in the behaviour and conversation of others.

3. A desire to appear to advantage, to get honour and avoid shame. "Come shame, come sorrow," etc.

4. A desire for personal ease and comfort, and a reluctance to suffer inconvenience.

5. Unwillingness to bear contradiction.

Rules of Life

Rules adopted on Sunday, April 4, 1819, the era of commencing public ministrations among the Burmans; revised and adopted on Saturday, December 9, 1820, and on Wednesday, April 25, 1821.

1. Be diligent in secret prayer, every morning and evening.

2. Never spend a moment in mere idleness.

3. Restrain natural appetites within the bounds of temperance and purity. "Keep thyself pure."

4. Suppress every emotion of anger and ill will.

5. Undertake nothing from motives of ambition or love of fame.

6. Never do that which, at the moment, appears to be displeasing to God.

7. Seek opportunities of making some sacrifice for the good of others, especially of believers, provided the sacrifice is not inconsistent with some duty.

8. Endeavour to rejoice in every loss and suffering incurred for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, remembering that though, like death, they are not to be wilfully incurred, yet, like death, they are great gain.

Readopted the above rules, particularly the 4th, on Sunday, August 31, 1823.

Readopted the above rules, particularly the first, on Sunday, October 29, 1826, and adopted the following minor rules:

1. Rise with the sun.

2. Read a certain portion of Burman every day, Sundays excepted.

3. Have the Scriptures and some devotional book in constant reading.

4. Read no book in English that has not a devotional tendency.

5. Suppress every unclean thought and look.

Revised and readopted all the above rules, particularly the second of the first class, on Sunday, March 11, 1827.

August 9, 1842.

God grant me grace to keep the above rules, and ever live to His glory, for Jesus Christ's sake. A. JUDSON.

1. Be more careful to observe the seasons of secret prayer.
2. Never indulge resentful feelings toward any person.
3. Embrace every opportunity of exercising kind feelings, and doing good to others, especially to the household of faith.
4. Sweet in temper, face, and word,
To please an ever-present Lord.

Renewed December 31, 1842.

December 31, 1842. Resolved to make the desire to please Christ the grand motive of all my actions.

The second is James Stewart, the founder of Lovedale, whom Lord Milner called the greatest human in South Africa, but who would never have been that if he had not been more, if Christ had not been in him and through him made known, in tenderness and patience and love. "Tenderness of heart in him," says Dr. Wells in his biography, "rose to genius, and it was not chilled by years or by cruel disappointments. His sympathies overflowed and went down beneath man to the animal world. A man or beast in misery was to him a sacred thing. He could not pass unheeded a beggar, an old man or woman, or poor little children. However busy—and he was always in a whirlpool of work—he had endless patience with sufferers, . . . It was the knowledge of his sympathy with them in all their troubles that gave Stewart such a hold over his natives and pupils. They knew that they could go to him at any hour of the day, and he would listen as patiently to their little tales of distress as if it were a matter of mighty moment. His sympathy kept him from being impatient with those less gifted than himself. Stewart was full of patience towards the boys and girls who were gathered together at Lovedale."

The third missionary is David Hill. Let me quote an extract from Dr. Barber's "David Hill, Missionary and Saint." It is Hill himself speaking:

The possibility of a far, I was almost writing an infinitely, higher Christian life than I live or see lived, is so indisputable

to reasonable minds that the employment of this or that term in expressing the same is to my mind a small matter.

The Church needs, and John Wesley felt, as he proceeded with his great work, the great benefit of the setting forth of a high ideal towards which to aim,—an ideal, if you like to call it so, but an impossible ideal, which, if faithfully and honestly taught, sets men a-longing for it by the power of the concurrently witnessing Spirit. But you will find as clear exposition of John Wesley's teaching on this subject in his hymn-book as anywhere.

"A little MS. book lies before me," writes Dr. Barber, "marked 'Private and Personal,' and it is with hushed footstep that we venture into the inner shrine of a soul's dealing with God. It contains the records of prayer and answer. 'A register of matters on which I have been much pressed in spirit, and for which I have been largely drawn out in prayer.' There are two divisions, headed 'Personal' and 'General.' Some prayers occur again and again, some are speedily marked as answered. There occur as subjects of supplication the names of missionary secretaries in England, English friends,—missionary, consular, and mercantile—in China, Chinese with whom he has been talking, statesmen and mandarins, the Chinese money-changers, etc. There are pathetic confessions of sin, of fear of excess in food and sleep, of faults of temper, and again and again is the record 'with groanings which cannot be uttered.' There are thanksgivings for conquest over parsimony and impatience, and for the consciousness of guidance. Here is an entry:

Carried out in rapturous love to Christ whilst on the road; the dear friends at Taiyuen Fu must have been praying for me. This was early in the morning, but in the afternoon wounded badly by Satan,—cartman very trying, impatience, etc.

Here is a form of daily self-inquiry:

1. What is my present relation to God? A son? A slave? An enemy?
2. What to my fellow-men? In love and charity?
3. What act of self-denial have I done or can I do to-day?
4. What prayer has been answered? Give thanks.

5. What "lost" ones have I sought to save?
6. What duties arise out of prayers I have put up to-day?
7. What grace of Christian character do I need especially to foster to-day? By what means?

Here are two estimates of the man from those who knew him, one a missionary, the other a civilian:

Mr. Hill was noted for his gentle and refined manners. He was the Christian gentleman everywhere and always. Whether in his intercourse with foreigners or natives he was always polite, always civil, always refined. He had his strong convictions, and he held them tenaciously; but it was always in the spirit of unfeigned meekness and true charity. What is it to be a gentleman? Is it to be honest, gentle, generous, brave, wise, and, possessing all these qualities, to exercise them in the most graceful outward manner? If that is to be a gentleman, then David Hill was unquestionably a perfect gentleman in every sense of the word. He was more—he was a *Christian* gentleman. Over and above all these natural and acquired qualifications there rested upon him something that lifted him far above the mere gentleman, and which those who knew him best could only recognise as the beauty of the Lord.

To me he has always seemed the type of an ideal missionary, and I have quoted him and his life scores of times in refutation of unfriendly criticism of missionaries and their work. The influence which men of his stamp—unconsciously often to themselves—exercise upon Europeans as well as upon natives, is not perhaps properly appreciated until we have lost them. One cause, to my mind, of the distinct line of demarcation, which unfortunately characterises to so large an extent the intercourse of missionaries and laymen in the Far East, is want of tolerance on the part of the former, and of sympathy, among other things, on the part of the latter. We find in David Hill a bridge between the two. While his life was saturated, so to speak, with religious ideas and aspirations, he was absolutely tolerant; and as he was a man of high education and refinement—a gentleman in the highest sense of the word—one felt in his presence that one was not dealing with a man who had placed himself on a pedestal of lofty, moral superiority, but one who was sympathetic, liberal minded, and appreciative of the doubts and difficulties with which so many conscientious men have to struggle, while his transparently simple and self-denying life was beyond the reach of hostile criticism. For myself, I can only say that he will hold

a revered place in my memory. I owe much to his talk, his influence, and his example.

These men made Christ known in their lives. If they had not done so, they could not have made Him known by their words. "The very presence of a missionary, man or woman, is the symptom of a good method," says Dr. Cust. "It is a surprise to the Africans to have a white man in their midst, who, if he chose, could ill-use them, carry off their wife and children and sell them as slaves, and yet does not do so: the wages, whether in cash or kind, paid regularly, cause a new sensation among people used to do forced labour: the kind word uttered, and assistance rendered in case of sickness, surprises them still more. Character does not go for much in old civilised countries, like India, China, and Japan, yet the people are led to reflect upon the wonderful phenomenon, that there are men and women living among them for a score or more years, not to rule the land like the officials, not to make money like the merchant, but to do acts of kindness, speak words of gentleness, encourage morality, and talk about God, and a Future State."

But we are told by some that this can only be effectively done, that we can only truly, persuasively represent Christ to these non-Christian peoples by the absolutely ascetic ideal, or that there are conditions in which only that ideal can avail. So Canon Taylor argued in the paper in the *Fortnightly Review*, twenty-two years ago, on "The Great Missionary Failure," which attracted so much undeserved attention. "The man who can best touch the hearts of Indians," said he, "must be a celibate and an ascetic, abstaining from alcohol, living like the natives on rice, receiving no payment, either a mendicant or working with his own hands, giving up everything that makes life comfortable, converting, not by argument, but by exhibiting in practice that absolute self-renunciation which is the only language the natives can understand."—(*Fortnightly Review*, October, 1888. p. 495.) This is the easy ideal of many missionary theorists and critics. But it is the ideal of others, also, within the missionary circle. Chinese Gordon believed that such a principle

alone would avail in the Soudan. The conditions made anything else impracticable. "There is not the least doubt," he wrote to his sister, "that there is an immense virgin field for an apostle in these countries among the black tribes. . . . But where will you find an apostle? I will explain what I mean by that term. He must be a man who has died entirely to the world; who has no ties of any sort; who longs for death when it may please God to take him; who can bear the intense dulness of these countries; who seeks for few letters; and who can bear the thought of dying deserted. . . . A man must give up everything, understand everything, everything to do anything for Christ here. . . . To tell you plainly, I think the price God asks of a man who comes out to live among the tribes is too great for a man to pay. I know none, no, not one who could pay it."—("Letters to his Sister," pp. 130-135.) Even more within the circle, we have had men like Crossett in China who have become mendicants for Christ's sake, and we are watching now Mr. Stokes's experiment with the friar life in India, in which he seeks a literal imitation, as he conceives it, of the life of Christ, exempting the great body of missionaries from such responsibility, but contending that the Christian fakirs are indispensable. "Their lives will count," writes Mr. Stokes. "I speak not from theory, but in the light of experience. Most non-Christians are unable to believe in the disinterestedness of our missionaries, and are inclined to look at their labours as the fruit of some Government policy. Hence, men are needed who will take their hearts by storm and force them to admit the great and disinterested love of the Christians by the magnitude of their self-sacrifice and the Christlikeness of their labours. Men are needed who will be willing to deny themselves completely and live the roughest of lives under the most trying circumstances for Christ's sake."—(*East and West*, April, 1908, p. 138, Art. "Interpreting Christ to India.")

Every Christian heart must rejoice in such devotion and pray for God's blessing upon it. Mr. Stokes does not propose his plan as the standard missionary method but as a useful supplementary agency. There are some, however, who do advocate

the fakir or mendicant ideal as the only true or at least the wisest missionary ideal. It is an appealing theory, but the example of Christ is against it, and the principles of St. Paul. Their aim was to domesticate Christianity in the common life of man, not to commend it by an abnormal setting. Whatever was necessary to effect their mission they accepted, but these things were not their mission, and both rejected the ascetic ideal. Those who have tried it have accomplished no such results by it as were accomplished by Judson, Stewart, and David Hill. In India the work of the Salvation Army, which Canon Taylor praised as embodying the right principle, has been an utter failure among the native peoples, and George Bowen and missionaries still living, who have sought by asceticism and imitation of native modes of life to make Christ known to the people, have had to confess that the method was ineffective,—and for obvious reasons. The Hindu people "understand real asceticism perfectly well," as Mr. Meredith Townsend wrote long ago, "and reverence it as a subjugation of the flesh, and if the missionary and his wife carried out the ascetic life as Hindus understand it, lived in a hut, half or wholly naked, sought no food but what was given them, and suffered daily some visible physical pain, they might stir up the reverence which the Hindu pays to those who are palpably superior to human needs. But in their eyes there is no asceticism in the life of the mean white, the Eurasian writer, or the Portuguese clerk, but only a squalor unbecoming a teacher, and one who professes and must profess scholarly cultivation. . . . The cheap missionaries will have absolutely no special result to encourage them to persevere. A missionary is not made more efficient by being sacrificed every day with the squalid troubles of extreme poverty, and the notion that his low position will bring him closer to the natives is the merest delusion. The white missionary is not separated from the Indian by this means, but by his colour and the difference produced by a thousand years of differing civilisation, which the word colour implies. He is a European; those to whom he preaches are Asiatics; in presence of that distinction all others are not only trivial but imperceptible. The

effect of the cheap missionary on the native mind will be precisely that of the dear missionary, except that as an unmarried man he will be regarded with infinitely more suspicion and disgust. Nothing, in fact, will be gained by the change except the privilege of repeating an experiment which has been made half a dozen times and has invariably failed."

Christ is made known by what a man is, and not by the mere style of his dress or home, or the appearance of his person. The missionary enterprise aims to plant the Gospel; for that purpose it needs agents; it needs to keep them in health and strength of body and mind; the more experience they have the more efficient they are. So much should be spent as is necessary for these purposes,—no more or less. Whatever difficulties spring from the comfort of the missionary's life are unavoidable. A real love in his heart will overcome all these, and if Christ is there small problems will solve themselves and Christ will speak forth. This is the primary missionary method.

But if Christ is really in a man He will speak forth through the man's lips as well as through his life. The great commission was a command of oral proclamation. The Saviour Himself was a teacher, and the Gospel was spread at the beginning, and must be spread now, by conversation. New believers talked about their faith to others. Its missionaries seized all the opportunities of human intercourse for the communication of the good news which they bore. They feared no situation and were equipped to set forth their message to every type of mind. "The unity and variety native to the preaching of Christianity from the very first," says Harnack, "were what constituted the secret of its fascination and a vital condition of its success. On the one hand, it was so simple that it could be summed up in a few brief sentences and understood in a single crisis of the inner life; on the other hand, it was so versatile and rich that it vivified all thought and stimulated every emotion. It was capable, almost from the outset, of vying with every noble and worthy enterprise, with any speculation, or with any cult of the mysteries. It was both new and old; it was both present and future. Clear and transparent, it was also profound and

full of mystery. It had statutes, and yet rose superior to any law. It was a doctrine and yet no doctrine, a philosophy and yet something different from philosophy."—(HARNACK, "Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I, p. 102.)

These early missionaries proclaimed the facts of Christianity and applied them to life. The missionaries of mediæval Europe followed the same course. "Their teaching," says Maclear, "from first to last was eminently objective. It dealt clearly with the great facts of Christianity. It proclaimed the incarnation of the Saviour, His life, His death, His resurrection, His ascension, His future coming to judge the quick and dead, and then it proceeded to treat of the good works which ought to flow from the vital reception of these Christian truths." Our apologetic conditions, in the midst of the great ethnic religions, are different to-day, and they differ in different lands and in different sections of the same people. Before Mohammedanism we face a problem unknown to the Apostles and evaded by the mediæval Church, with one such shining exception as Raymond Lull. In each nation the mode of preaching Christ adapts itself to the fashion of men's minds, and on the other side it takes form from the experience and faith of the preachers. How great and intricate is the problem,—so great and intricate that we must have committed more error far than we dream. "I for one," said Mr. Jones, "most certainly believe that there has been an immense amount of preaching, which was done in a most unwise, most bald, and detrimental way; indeed, so much so as to render it really unworthy of being called the true preaching of Christ at all,—preaching which, if Christ had preached on earth after His resurrection, He would have been slow to own as the preaching of Him; and this to such an extent and in such a way as to make the name of Jesus a by-word among the heathen, in proportion as the sound of it is known,—a result not by any means arising solely from the perversity of the natural heart, but very largely from the indiscreet way in which that name has been preached." It is so difficult just because it is so fundamental and primary. The missionary enterprise needs the ablest, most original, most adaptive men to

make Christ known by word to the non-Christian world. But at the same time it is both true and comfortable to remind ourselves that any man who will tell the facts of the Gospel in love, who knows Christ as his own Saviour and Lord, and can speak out of his own human heart to other men's hearts, will be preaching Him. The human race is one. Its unity underlies all its varieties. There is a capacity of response in each son to his Father's call, and the man who truly knows God in Christ and truly loves his fellow-men cannot preach without making Christ known.

The difficulties and discouragements of preaching Christ often turn men aside to other less arduous and exacting forms of missionary service? No work is more intellectually taxing if rightly done. None draws so upon the very depths of the soul. None demands more patience and tenderness. It is hard enough when carried on locally, but it is still harder when it is carried on as Paul carried on his through great itineracies, carefully planned and consecutively followed up. But whatever its difficulties, the great missionary method in the past, and a method in which the missionaries themselves must be leaders for many years yet to come, is the Apostolic method of going about and preaching the Gospel. What such work still is Dr. Cust, in a tender mood, rare in his later writings on missions, set forth in an idealised picture of women's evangelistic work in India: "To the village women," wrote he, "the appearance of a female evangelist must be, as it were, the vision of an angel from Heaven. To their untutored eyes she appears taller in stature, fairer in face, sweeter in speech than anything mortal they had ever dreamed of before; bold and fearless without immodesty; pure in word and action yet with features unveiled; wise, yet condescending to the ignorant and little children; prudent and self-restrained, yet still a woman loving and tender —such as there never appeared before to poor village-women, even in their dreams, until suddenly their eyes, their ears, and their hearts, seem to realise faintly and confusedly the beauty of Holiness, when they begin to hold converse, only too brief, with their sweet and loving visitor, who, smitten with the

wondrous desire to save souls, has come across the sea from some unknown country to comfort and help them. Short as is her stay, she has, as it were with a magic wand, let loose a new fountain of hopes, of fears, and desires: she has told them, perhaps in faltering accents, of righteousness, and judgment, of sin, repentance, and pardon, through the blessed merits of a Saviour. This day has salvation come to this Indian village."

The third great missionary method is foreshadowed in Paul's counsel to Timothy, "The words which thou hast received from me, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." And Paul was anticipated in this obvious and inevitable method by the Saviour Himself in the college of the Apostles, "the training of the Twelve." Regarding this kind of educational work in missions, there could be no controversy. Men and women are to be trained to give the Gospel to their own people. It is a commonplace to say that the evangelisation of any land must be in the main accomplished by the people of that land. If there were to be but one missionary in a country, his best work would be done in raising up a large body of native preachers. He would have to do preaching himself in order to make preachers out of others, but he would certainly have to give the others careful training. Such educational work as is necessary to raise up a host of native preachers, and as actually accomplishes such a result, is an indispensable method of mission work.

But the problem cannot be kept in this simple form. When a Christian community has been formed, its children will require Christian education. They cannot be left to grow up as the heathen children about them. Not all of them will become native preachers. A self-supporting Church must rest on self-supporting members, and if all become preachers, giving all their time to such work, who will support them? A Christian Church needs a wide variety of Christian leadership. The work of the Church is not only evangelisation; it is the permeation of life with Christian principles. Its members require the education which will equip them for such service. Furthermore, in the

actual prosecution of the work, difficulties are encountered which light from the facts of the world and of history will dissolve; prejudices are met which knowledge will allay. And also often our statement of Christian truth finds no lodgment for it in hardened minds. Young and plastic minds, kept day after day under Christian teaching, will, it would seem clear, be more likely to respond. Now, if the Christian Church in a given land were able to do this work, or if in part at least it were being done by the State without prejudice to Christianity, to that extent foreign missions would be relieved of it; but in the nature of the case the Church is not in existence, or is but just coming into being, and the State is likely to be either non-Christian or neutral, with a neutrality which allows hostility but not friendship to Christianity. Conditions such as these make the problem of education as a missionary method a far more intricate one.

The founders of our modern missionary movement viewed these matters, however, with good spiritual sense. Let me quote again from the letter addressed by the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1838 to its first missionaries:

> We recommend to your attention and to your unceasing prayers the children of the heathen. We are far from despairing of the conversion of adults among them. Experience, as well as the Word of God, shows that the power of the Holy Spirit can overcome the most obstinate hardness, as well as the most inveterate habits of pagan profligacy. And, therefore, it will be your duty to preach the Gospel to all classes, in every form, and by all the means in your power. Proclaiming the Word of God, by the living teacher, is God's own ordinance, which ought never to be exchanged for any other, where it is possible to employ it. But still we consider the children and young people as pre-eminently the hope of your missionary labours. The greater susceptibility of the youthful mind—the durability of impressions made in early life—and the comparative ease with which habits are changed which have not become inveterate—all recommend diligent and persevering efforts to form the minds of children and youth, as among the most promising and probably productive departments of missionary labour. But this is not all. Parents themselves are never more likely

to be effectually reached and profited than through the medium of their children. They will, of course, regard with favour those whom they see to be labouring for the happiness of their offspring; and when they see their children growing in knowledge and in good habits under the instruction of the missionaries, this will form a new bond of attachment and open a new avenue to their hearts.

We exhort you, therefore, next to the preaching of the Gospel, to make the instruction of heathen youth, in every form which you may find practicable and expedient, an object of your constant and diligent attention. But let all your schools and instructions be strongly stamped with a Christian character. Let the Bible be everywhere carefully introduced. Let all your efforts for the benefit of youth be consecrated with prayer; and let the excellent catechisms of our Church be as early and as extensively employed as possible, as formularies of instruction. Recollect that it is our object to raise up, as soon as practicable among the heathen, a native ministry. The attainment of this object will require the most vigorous efforts to educate the young; the selection of the most promising of their number for special culture, and elevating the means of their instruction as far as circumstances will admit.

The Roman Catholic Church has never faltered in its wise policy at this point. "This is one of the most vital works of the mission," writes Mr. Kelly of the Catholic missions in China, and especially of the work of Christianising the children:

They must be instructed very young, and taken away as much as possible from pagan surroundings. To do this properly, the schools should be near the missionaries. There are central schools in all the chief mission stations, where the children are completely separated from bad influences, and are taught to practise their religion by their teachers and by the good example they see around them, whereas children who have not had this advantage are recognisable at a glance, as they do not comprehend their religion at all well.

Another very important consideration is the following with regard to schools. These are often found to be the most useful as a means of furthering conversions, as according to a French missionary, "When the infant comes to school, his father will soon follow the child to the church," and these dear children, like St. John the Baptist, fill the valleys and bring low the moun-

tains and hills, by opening to their parents the path leading to our Blessed Saviour.

It is the business of the foreign mission to see that instruction is provided in some way for Christian children and to use schools for reaching children with the knowledge of Christ. It is not the work of foreign missions merely to provide education as such for the children of any nation. That is the business of the nation and the Church in that nation. The missionary enterprise should give the sense of educational duty and the educational form to both nation and Church. It has already done this in India, Japan, China, and Korea, and Brazil, and the Turkish Empire. It is doing it in other lands.

And the foreign missionary enterprise uses, and does right to use, education also as a preparatory agency as well as a training school for Christians and as a method of evangelisation. I cannot find worthier words in which to set forth this view than Dr. William Miller's in his paper on " Educational Agencies in Missions," in 1893:

The servants of God have always acted (with more or less of insight into the meaning of what they did) upon the principle that subordinate preparatory agencies—educational agencies of different kinds—are to be employed in the mighty task of bringing mankind to rejoice in God, revealed in Christ. It was mainly by the great monastic corporations, so long as they had something of their early vigour, that Christianity was maintained and spread in Europe in the ages when the rude northern races were being brought under the gentle yoke of Christ. These corporations were centres of every kind of human activity. Occasionally connected with them there were schools and hospitals, orchards and farms, and warehouses. Of all these activities the dominating aim was—wholly in point of theory and to some extent practically as well—that they should be means of opening men's minds to saving truth and of bringing them within the Christian fold.

But to act on an implicit principle is one thing: to bring a principle into clear consciousness and work it out with deliberate intention is another. The greatest discoveries are often no more at bottom than the statement and application of laws and principles which are always operating in nature and which are there-

fore, in the strict sense, no novelties at all. Thus it is only in a secondary and subordinate sense that the preparatory use of educational agencies has any novelty, though in that sense it certainly has some. The distinct statement of the implicit principle must be ascribed to Dr. Inglis of Edinburgh, the Convener of the first Committee on Indian Missions of the Scottish Church. In 1818, a good many years before his Church in its corporate capacity had entered on any foreign work, Dr. Inglis, in a sermon on a public occasion, enunciated the principle which he afterwards largely helped to reduce to practice. He held it to be indisputable that—to use his own words—"a man of an understanding mind, habituated to thought and reflection, has an advantage over others for estimating both the evidence of the Christian doctrine and its accommodation to human wants and necessities." From this the practical inference drawn by the preacher was, to use his own words again, that "schools for the education of the young, in every department, accomplish His purpose by the intervention of natural means. The intrinsic excellence of the Christian doctrine, and its accommodation to our spiritual wants, are, through Divine Grace, made obvious to the eye of the mind; the prejudices of the corrupted heart are thereby overcome, and our inclinations, instead of resisting as formerly the external evidences of the truth, co-operate with that evidence towards our establishment in the faith of the Gospel."

The principles indicated in these quotations are the principles on which the educational mission work of the Scottish Church has always proceeded, and still proceeds. Both in its theory and its practice, that Church maintains that while the simple presentation of the message of forgiveness and love through the cross of Christ is the highest form of Christian effort and the central means of building up the Church, there is yet, according to the divine plan, both room and need for humbler agencies to work in auxiliary subordination to it. That Church's aim has been through study of God's ordinary methods of procedure to become an instrument in making them effectual—to lay herself along the line of the divine purpose, and, seeking no glory for herself, to do intentionally, and therefore more rapidly, a work that must be done somehow if the divine purposes are to be fully carried out in any land or among any race. These were the views of the Committee of the Scottish Church for Indian Missions which was formed in 1825, with Dr. Inglis at its head. In the first letter of that Committee to "the people of Scotland," these significant words occur: "Let it not be

inferred from our having said so much about schools and other seminaries of education, that we for a moment lose sight of the more direct means of accomplishing our object, by the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen world. . . . It is in subserviency to the success of preaching that we would, in this case, devote our labour to the education of the young."

And the use of education as a missionary agency is firmly supported on even more general grounds. The report on education presented to the Shanghai Centenary Missionary Conference declared: "When we reflect that there is a Gospel of creation, and a Gospel of the divine government of the world, as well as a Gospel of redemption, we see that the founding of the school and college is a necessary duty of the missionary. In later years, since men's conceptions as to the function of the Christian Church in the world have been enlarged, we understand that we are not only working for the salvation of separate individuals, but for society as a whole. Our great ideal is the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth. We aim at influencing all the strata of society. Christianity is to save the world and to bring all human relationships, political, social, commercial, and industrial into harmony with the laws of God. The imparting of an enlightened and Christian education is one of the great means for the accomplishment of this end." And in the memorial to the home Church the conference justly declared: "The success of such institutions (mission schools and colleges) will have to be measured not simply by the number of pupils that are baptised in the course of each year, but by the measure of our own unhesitating confidence of faith that such work is of itself, and without regard to results that can be tabulated in terms of Church membership, a work 'worthy of God.' We must believe earnestly," the memorial continues, "that no labours done on such lines for His glory by those whom He Himself calls to such service will be in vain in the Lord; for the revealing of the wonders of His ways, whether in the realms of nature, of history, of science, or of grace and redemption, is, in truth, all one work, and it is constantly so represented in the Bible."

I venture, however, to raise the question whether these statements do not mingle the work of the Christian state, of the Christian Church, and of the foreign mission. The Centenary Conference recognises some distinction, for its memorial proceeds: "We freely and entirely recognise that the work of national education in China cannot possibly be undertaken by missions, but must be carried out by the Chinese themselves." The business of the missions is to give inspiration and to set models. But they are to do so, we must maintain, under the dominating aim of foreign missions. That aim was clearly and unflinchingly defined by the Deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to India in 1891 in these words: "We must lay it down as a principle that the one absorbing aim in all real mission work is to bring our fellow-men to know Jesus Christ to be their Saviour, and to profess their faith in Him in baptism. The mission work of the Church is done in obedience to the command of the Lord, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' Every mission, and all mission methods, must in the end submit to this test. Therefore, in discussing the mission value of educational missions, we must put aside all arguments drawn from the spread of humanitarian and civilising ideas. These are welcome accompaniments, but, after all, the question is—Is all this educational work calculated to draw men to faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to a profession of that faith in baptism?"

There are those who say that it has not had this result. General Booth is emphatic in his condemnation. "But it is said," he declares, "we must educate the people in order that they may read their Bibles. But alas! in teaching them to read their Bibles you have enabled them to read the works of unbelievers and doubters which you meet in so-called Christian literature. I have an impression that for every one, who, through his boasted education, is to-day reading his Bible, a hundred are lost to all regard of God and religion. I believe thoroughly and say deliberately that so far as the salvation of souls is concerned, the Christian Church in India has by her colleges

and schools done more harm than good." That is one witness against a thousand. Neither schools nor preachings have yielded the longed-for results, but so far as the high castes are concerned, what converts there are have been won through the schools, and of India as a whole it is maintained by those who know, that whether we have in view the primary aim or the ultimate results of missionary work, Christ has been most deeply and most widely made known through the schools.

Nevertheless, it is as earnestly maintained by those in the schools, as well as by those out of them, that the great need of mission work in India is such an enlarged equipment and such a reorganisation as will make the missionary aim actually dominating and sovereign. All missionary education should be uncompromisingly and pervasively Christian. That will mean that it will be honest as educational work, the best and most thorough educational work that can be given, and that it will be adapted to the conditions in which it is given, making men leaders of their own people and not denationalised and forceless copies of foreign ideals. Whatever may be the final judgment to be pronounced upon the policy of English education established in India as the consequence of Duff's influence and Macaulay's minute, a policy of which Sir Henry Craik, Secretary of the Scotch Education Department for many years, wrote in 1908, after a study of the Indian schools: "In thinking that in its main lines it is hopelessly wrong, I am only repeating the opinion expressed to me universally by all the wisest Anglo-Indians and natives whom I have seen, and impressed on me by my own experience. I can only describe that impression by saying that there is a sort of mildew lying over the work,"—(*Punjab Mission News,* February 20, 1908, p. 4)—missions in all lands should avoid in their educational work the loss of their nationalistic purpose to make Christianity at home in the language and natural genius of each people, as well as the loss of their primary aim to make Christ known to men in order to win men to Christ's faith and Christ's service.

Those philanthropies and humane services by which the Spirit of Christ in men is sure to utter itself constitute the

fourth method of the foreign mission. These expressions of the Christian Spirit are irrepressible, and they are characteristic. Whether medical missions and charitable activities are proper agencies of the missionary enterprise are senseless questions. They cannot be prevented. If missionaries see widows burned and children slaughtered and villages ravaged in slave raids, and famine orphans and Christ's sheep scattered abroad and suffering with no man caring, they are going to care, and agitation and action are as certain as the love of Christ. And such services are themselves manifestations of Christ. They are original to Christianity. The non-Christian peoples recognise this. "There is plenty of scope for active work," said the leading social reform paper of Madras, "not only for policemen, but for earnest men and women, of course among Christians. Our countrymen must pardon us for this piece of plain speaking, as they have never shown the least anxiety to reclaim the fallen. For 'once fallen, always fallen' would appear to be their maxim."—(Quoted by SLATER, "Missions and Sociology," p. 34.) All pure unselfishness preaches Christ. Indeed, it is the only way He can be preached. No words can speak Christ to men as words can speak Him when pictured also in deeds. Many of the non-Christian peoples are kindergarten peoples and need to be taught by object lessons. Acts must put content into words for them. The love of Christ must be interpreted to them by the vision of a man in whom Christ is loving them.

But universal charity is not the aim of the foreign missionary movement. It cannot heal or feed the world any more than it can educate it, and it is not its business to try to do so. All that the Church is giving or would need to give to discharge its distinctive foreign mission work would not suffice to meet the physical sufferings of the Yangtse valley or to educate Bengal. The philanthropic work of missions is to be subjected to its aim, just as all other methods. (1) The business of each missionary in his life and of each mission in its policy is to make Christ known. He and it are to do such loving deeds as will effect this, and as they cannot help doing if Christ be

in them. There will be difference of view among them as to what this involves. David Hill's life reveals one of these:

Last evening I had a conversation with ——— on the subject of charity. His views differ widely from mine, though we both believe that we are following our Lord. He sees the evils which have arisen from distribution of charity to be so great that, unless in cases of actual starvation, he would refuse to give, and even then in a manner disconnected as far as possible from evangelistic work. The history of missionary work in China, and the East generally, he thinks is so strongly corroborative of this view, that he would hold it as simply ruinous to go in for any large and widespread plan of benevolence in connection with the work of preaching the Gospel. In favour of this view he quotes the life of our Lord. Twice *only,* he says, did He give supplies of food, and after one of these distributions refused to repeat the act because of the impurity of the motives of those professedly seeking His instruction. With the affluence of divine power at His disposal, he asks why but these two times? seeing there were so many thousands of poor around.

I need hardly say that this view is strangely out of accord with my reading of our Lord's life. Its fundamental principle, its Alpha and Omega, was sacrifice for others, and that not only of preaching time, hours of study, etc., but of comforts and enjoyments. Given a poverty like that of our Lord, Who had not where to lay His head, I can understand the limitation of charity distribution to a few isolated instances. But where all one's surroundings are so comfortable, and where hundreds around are so wretched, I can no more conceive of our Lord's living so than I can conceive of His abdicating His throne and disowning His cause. . . .

How He healed the sick! "But," inquired ———, "did He ever heal them irrespective of their moral preparedness for His teaching?" I asked what meant His teaching about the Good Samaritan, and I might add His requirement to love and do good even to our enemies,—not only those in suffering, but our enemies even. But holding views which mean universal love, the loving one's neighbor as oneself, implies on the part of a single man no *heavy* encumbrance of wealth, for he has no children to provide for and no responsibility on that score. This free, full outpouring of himself is the only consistent course for one so situated, and this honestly done, it seems to me, will tell not *against* but *for* the Kingdom of God,—if Christianity means anything at all. Looking at the whole subject, not in

the brief course of a few months or years, but judging of it in the light of eternity, and of the Spirit of Life and Triumph of Jesus, I see very differently from ———, and shall be judged for my convictions as he for his.

Each man must do what he believes to be right in the light of the supreme missionary aim. He must show forth Christ. (2) In the second place, Christ is to be made known for the winning of men to Christian discipleship. Our philanthropic work, accordingly, must be directed to this end. Hospitals, relief work, orphanages, moral reform should be openly in Christ's name and should be followed up so that their fruitage may be gathered into the Christian fold. (3) And in the third place, all such work must have in view the naturalisation of Christianity, not the parasitical dependence of the people upon charity from without. Our Lord did not go about as a mere healer, nor even predominantly as a philanthropist. In nothing is His divine wisdom and self-restraint more clearly seen than in His refusal to become simply the philanthropist, feeding all hunger, abolishing all need. Paul seems purposely to have avoided all miracle-working and personal charity. The Saviour's purpose and Paul's was not to meet the passing physical need of one century, but to plant in the world the eternal life of Christianity, those living principles which would lead each century to meet its own needs. The energies by which St. Paul naturalised Christianity throughout the Roman Empire might have been exhausted in the effort to cope with the physical evils of the one city of Antioch. He had a greater work to do and was strong enough not to sacrifice the best on the altar of a good. The aim of foreign missions is not to care for all the industrial, social, economic, and physical ills of the non-Christian world, but to plant there the living seeds of the Gospel of the incarnate God. That Gospel is to be the healing of the world in God's own day. Foreign missions will have passed away long before the dawning of that day.

Beside these four great methods of which I have spoken, there are others, as many as men can devise and as conditions demand, entirely legitimate, urgently demanded, requiring only

that they minister to the missionary aim,—the circulation of the Scriptures and Christian literature, the translation of good books, especially home reading books and educational text-books, the establishment of medical schools, the cultivation of new industries and the improvement of old, and many more, but any of these are not appropriate activities of foreign missions if they do not make Christ known as the Saviour and Lord of life, or if they make men dependent instead of free.

It is not unlikely that as we work out this aim, we shall come upon situations where its attainment will be long delayed. A co-operative assistance, or even guidance, may be required for a long time, and it may be found that this help can be given better through the continuance of the foreign missionary enterprise as such than by any new arrangement. In some lands the absence of religious liberty, or the presence of social or political conditions which stifle the independent influence of the new Churches, or the slow growth of the number of Christians, or their slow development in Christian character, may make both the realisation and also the clear discernment of the true aim difficult. But there are always perplexities surrounding high and distinct aims, and we shall be hindered and not helped in the work of missions if we have no clear aim, or if, having one, we lose sight of it because at times it seems merely theoretical.

In pursuing the missionary aim and adapting methods thereto, three great sets of problems arise. First, in offering to men the revelation and life of God in Christ we meet their own religious conceptions. Are these not already adequate, many ask us? If not, what is the true attitude of the witness of Christianity to these other religions? Second, these people have their own social and political institutions; missionaries who go out to them go as citizens of foreign governments and representatives of other ideals. What is to be the relation of the preachers of the new religion to the governments from which they come and to the governments to which they go? How is the new religion to relate itself to the organised life of the people to whom it is offered? How are its new adherents to meet the

inevitable consequences of their new situation? And thirdly, Christianity is not pure individualism. It is a corporate relationship. Men who come to Christ come into Christ and into a united life with all who are Christ's. They are members of His body. And that body has a visible form, confused and imperfect, but necessary. Those who are won as Christ's disciples must be organised into Churches for the confirmation of their own faith, for the enlargement of their own knowledge, for the sake of human service, in order that Christianity may be made indigenous and enduring in the life of the nation. What should be our ideals for such a Church? How is it to be established? What shall be its fundamental moral and spiritual standards, what its essential characteristics, what its relations to the missionaries who founded it and the Churches from which they came forth? What are to be the responsibilities of these new Churches toward their nations, and how are they to be truly set each in its own national life? These three great sets of problems we are to consider separately, and in the reverse order.

The judgments we shall form regarding them, however, will depend on whether or not we are prepared to accept the conception of the aim of the foreign missionary enterprise maintained here. Some will take exception to this conception as too broad, others as too narrow. There are some who hold that the one business of missions is the oral preaching of the Gospel, that no institutions are legitimate, save churches and chapels, that we are to bear our witness to the facts of the Gospel and pass on. Others will allow for patient reiteration and repeated itineration, but the one allowable agency, they hold, is preaching to companies or to individuals with a view to the conversion of men. On the other hand, are those who hold that the view we have taken is far too narrow, that the business of missions is to Christianise the world, that national conversion is more important than individual conversion. Dr. Timothy Richard has been one of the most eloquent advocates of this larger view of missionary policy. His thought is that we should transfer the emphasis from trying to convert individual China-

men by preaching the Gospel, and should grasp the present opportunity to reform the Empire by larger methods.

After over sixty years' experience [he wrote shortly after the Boxer troubles had subsided] missionaries have discovered that there is a way of influencing the millions of China through the Government, through the leading Viceroys and Governors, and through the gentry and students which has no parallel in any other part of the world, viz., by systematic distribution of carefully prepared literature and frequent communication with the authorities. The marvellous effect of our literature is known to you, the influence of frequent telegraphic communication with the central Government, Viceroys, and Governors by competent and experienced persons is also enormous. But this latest phase of influencing these involves occasional use of scientific instruments, like the cinematograph, wireless telegraphy, illustrated books, etc., etc., to give an idea of every phase of Christian progress throughout the world. The "Gunboat policy" produces fear and suspicion and the awful catastrophes of last year, while this friendly, personal intercourse produces love and confidence, a great desire for reform and regeneration, and feelings of goodwill to all the world.

The old methods of mission work aimed at influencing a village or a town or at most comparatively few towns by each mission on the model of home work. But this method aims at nothing less than influencing every town and village throughout the Empire, not by placing a foreign missionary in every place (a plan which usually excites the natural opposition of the Chinese much more than placing an Italian priest in every town in England would), but by enlisting the sympathy of the Chinese themselves with Christian principles, which save and ennoble individuals and nations, so that they themselves may carry the message enthusiastically to their fellow-countrymen, and establish schools, colleges, and churches. We have seen it work marvellously already on a limited scale, but we want to extend it so as to embrace every province till the whole Empire is regenerated on Christian lines.

Great as the influence of other methods has been, it is acknowledged by all who have carefully studied this method that it is immeasurably superior. Moreover, it was not possible a generation ago, it may not be possible a generation hence, but it is possible now. "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation" for China.

We appeal to missionary societies individually and col-

lectively, we appeal to Christian laymen individually and collectively. Consider carefully whether it is not better to follow providential openings like this than to follow old and comparatively unsuccessful methods which were adapted chiefly to former times and conditions.

And the Rev. Bernard Lucas has earnestly argued, out of a rich experience of mission work in India, for a wider conception of the missionary aim than has been set forth here. Let me present his view in his own words:

To the older theology, India was a ship on the rocks, and the missionary was the lifeboatman engaged in the task of picking up the few survivors who were swept within his reach, and who, if he failed to reach them, were carried away to eternal destruction. To the modern mind, on the other hand, India is a ship which is salvable, not on the rocks, but aground; and the real missionary enterprise is not that of picking up a few survivors from a hopeless wreck, but of bringing the ship into port with all on board. There is sufficient truth in the illustration to justify its use for the purpose of marking the contrast between the newer and the older conception of the Church's task. The missionary who set off in his lifeboat has got on board, examined the condition of the vessel, sounded the depth of water in the hold, seen the crowded condition of the decks, and been forced to the conclusion that the lifeboat is inadequate to the task. If the people are to be saved, the ship itself must be brought into port. Above all, he has realised that *the people will not leave the ship*. This last fact must be grasped by the Christian Church with all that it signifies, if its cry of India for Christ is to have any real meaning. The great work amongst the outcaste population has been the pressing work of picking up those who have been swept overboard, and of whose welfare those who remained on board were callously indifferent. We have landed them on sandbanks and desert islands, and supplied them with as much of our stores as we could give, but the question of their future is one of grave anxiety. It has been a noble work, and worthy of all the consecrated and heroic effort which has been spent upon it, *but it is not the salvation of India.* We must not shut our eyes to the fact that the India we have come to save is a ship which is aground; and that the true task which confronts us is that of getting her floated, her damages repaired, her disorganised crew and distracted passengers organ-

ised and encouraged, so that she may proceed on her way to the port to which she is bound. Nothing short of that will satisfy the soul of India, and nothing short of that will fulfil the sacred obligation which rests upon the Church of Christ. The illustration here used is only an illustration, and its details can easily be criticised, but it fairly represents the difference between the newer and the older views of missionary work, and it is to emphasise that difference that it is alone employed. . . .

This changed standpoint will review our methods in the light of its conception of the larger aim which it contemplates. It will insist that the true aim of the Western Church is to give to India a deeper religious life, and not what it may conceive to be more correct religious opinions; and it will demand that the larger aim shall occupy the paramount position. It would be a mistake to suppose that in thus emphasising the distinction between creed and life, the modern mind fails to appreciate the connection which exists between the two, or that it in any sense confounds mere civilisation with that which in contradistinction may be called Christianisation. It distinguishes, however, between thought and the expression of thought, between the translation of words and the translation of ideas, between creeds and the truth every creed of necessity limits and confines. It believes that thought can be and ought to be propagated; but it equally believes that its expressions must not be translated, except from the original, and that the translation must invariably be idiomatic. Christian truth can be and ought to be propagated in India, where it will inevitably produce a richer and fuller religious life. It is India's supreme need, and apart from that truth, her religious life shows no sign now, as it has shown no sign for ages, of any quickening whatever. Christian truth, however, must be left to find its own expression; the translation must be into the vernacular of to-day, not into the Sanscrit of yesterday; and it must be perfectly idiomatic. The task of the Western Church, a task for which it has been destined by the providence of God, and for which it is not yet fully qualified, is to propagate Christian thought in terms of life-value. To that task everything must be subordinated, and to its successful accomplishment all our missionary methods should be devised.

And in a review of Bishop Mylne's "Missions to Hindus," Mr. Lucas speaks even more plainly:

It is probably too much to hope for at present, but the time will doubtless arrive when what are called mission statistics will

be found only in census reports. In dealing with the qualitative results, Dr. Mylne limits his survey to the Indian Christian community, and seems hardly to recognise what in many respects are the far more significant results in the changed thought and feeling of the nation as a whole. This is a very serious defect in the book, and it is more serious because it reveals a failure on his part to recognise the working of the Spirit outside all ecclesiastical organisations. Apparently no work which does not bring definite results, in the shape of additions to the Christian community, is worthy of consideration in the discussion of missionary methods. That this is no unfair criticism of his position may be seen by the estimate he forms of the strictly educational mission, which, he distinctly tells us, "has had its day and done its work." His chapter on Educational Missions is vitiated throughout by this failure to recognise any other results than those of additions to the Church. The real fact is that in the greater task of bringing India to Christ, as contrasted with the very much smaller one of gaining converts, there is no method which has had a greater result than education, and missionary education in particular. It is the larger and not the smaller aim which should dominate missionary policy, and in proportion as that larger aim influences our missionary methods will the coming of the kingdom of Christ in India be hastened.—(*L. M. S. Chronicle,* July, 1908.)

On the general question involved, I venture to make several remarks, observing first that these views have their own truth but appear to us to commingle the aim of missions with the total purposes of Christianity.

1. To spread what we know as Christian civilisation over the world is not the aim of foreign missions, nor is it an adequate aim for the Christian Church to cherish for her mission to the world. Christian civilisation owes what is good in it to Christianity, but that civilisation is distinctly Occidental, not universal, and it is seamed with evil. It is an open question whether, apart from its distinctly Christian elements, it has not done more harm than good to the non-Christian people.—(Cust, "Mission Methods," p. 96.) And if so, we had better devote our far too inadequate resources in the missionary movement to carrying to the world that knowledge of Christ in which is no element of evil and which will mean life and not death to the world.

2. The conversion of a nation does mean more than the conversion of the individuals composing the nation, but it cannot mean less than the conversion of some of these individuals, and the real conversion of any nation would mean the devotion of all its life and of all its lives to God. That will be the ultimate result of missionary effort, but long before that result will have been attained, foreign missions will have ceased. Indeed, the condition of our home lands raises in our minds the question whether that result will be reached until the promised return of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from Heaven. I do not believe that it will. Neither Scotland nor America holds out the faintest hope that it can. But even if that result is to be attained now by us, it is not the responsibility of foreign missions to attain it. It is the work of the Christian Church, which it is the business of missions to found and to which it must give ideals. The Church is to bear the burden of national Christianisation. Of course, when the mission is doing the work of the Church, as it must when the Church is just beginning, as it must not beyond a certain limit and after the Church has begun, then the responsibility of the Church may be confessedly taken over by the mission. But that is just the evil from which Christianity in some lands is suffering. There is no great indigenous Church, and there is not likely to be one so long as the missions forget their aim and duty to create one, and cover over their failure by undertaking to do themselves the work of the Church.

3. Where the aim of missions is hard of realisation, as it is in India, in no small measure because the ostracism of caste has denationalised the Christian constituency and the dependent political life of the nation has depressed and stifled the indigenous Christian life, the work of the mission will inevitably take on the permanent character of the work of the Church, all the more because the people are so poor and missions seek to carry them forward in one century over the development which with the West covered from ten to twenty. We must make allowance for this, and stretch our methods perhaps beyond our aim, but we must not abandon our aim, nor for one moment cease

seeking to realise it. We may carry on work which does not actually realise it, and justify our doing so on the ground of the good which we are accomplishing and the preparation we are making for a future larger good, and be fully warranted in this view, but I do not believe that we are justified in abandoning our aim or subordinating the ideal of converted men and an indigenous Church to the ideal of a reformed and enlightened nation.

4. The issue raised is the perennial issue of the individual or the society, and the position which is unhesitatingly taken in these lectures is that the primary aim of foreign missions is to reach individuals and to make Churches out of them, and through these Churches to redeem the life of humanity. All that can be done, meanwhile, for society, which will make Christ known to it and in it, will be done. When individuals will not be reached, the enterprise will not let go. It will strike in its roots, and sap and mine and wait. All that is effected in the amelioration of human conditions, in the extension of knowledge, in the softening of prejudice, in the infiltration of truth about God and the world into the opinions of nations and the philosophies of religious systems, in the spread of human sympathy and the improvement of international relations,—all the rich fruitage which is the inevitable consequence of living Christ, of making Him known, and all of which is a sign of the larger coming of the knowledge of the Son of God—in all this missions will rejoice. They will press upon the world the duty of supporting them because of this fruitage, fruitage which they can yield in unequalled purity and fulness, but nevertheless their aim will be the definite religious aim of making Christ known to all the world as the Saviour and Lord of men, with a view to making men His disciples, uniting them in the life and ministry of the visible Church, and in them and in that Church domiciling Christianity in all the races of humanity. This is the first stage in the long journey toward the Kingdom of Heaven among men. It is the Church's primary duty, and her noblest privilege, and the condition of her power and prosperity at home, to attempt to complete this stage in our generation.

III

MISSIONS AND THE NATIVE CHURCHES

III

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THE greatest fact in modern politics has been the growth of nationalism. The history of the past century has been the history of the arrangement of national boundaries, the development of national ambitions, the formation of national policies, the definition of national responsibilities, the sharpened distinction of national characters, the realisation and resolute acceptance of national destinies. With all the emphasis which systems of ethics and of political philosophy have given on the one hand to the individual, and on the other to humanity, it remains true that the dominant principle of modern history has been the ideal of nationalism.

In Europe, assuredly, as Professor Reinsch has said in his excellent little book on "World Politics,"

> The great modern development has been the principle of nationality. When we view the historical development of the world since the Renaissance, we find that the one principle about which the wealth of facts can be harmoniously grouped is that of nationalism. Ever since the world-state ideals of the Middle Ages were left behind, this principle has been the touchstone of true statesmanship. The reputation of a statesman, as well as his permanent influence on human affairs, depends on his power to understand and aid the historical evolution, from out the mediæval chaos, of strong national states. Genius could not countervail this law of development. Even Napoleon was unsuccessful whenever his policy opposed the innate strength of nationalism. As we enumerate the great statesmen whose personalities have left a permanent impress on the institutions of their countries, such as Louis XI, Wolsey, Elizabeth, Richelieu, Henry IV, Cromwell, Chatham, Cavour, and Bismarck, we find that their title to greatness rests upon the manner in which they

aided a national state in realising its independence and developing its character.

Especially during the nineteenth century has nationalism been a conscious influence in political life. The nations that, at its beginning, had partly achieved their independent political existence, have since been striving for the attainment of completely self-sufficing life; while those races that regard themselves as unjustly held in bondage by others have been engaged in a stern struggle to obtain national independence. Success has not been the equal portion of the striving races. Germany and Italy, which have most nearly approached their ideal, are still looking yearningly toward the completion of their work by the addition of Austria and Trieste to the national states to which they respectively belong. The Hungarians, whose nationalism is most violently enthusiastic, have carried their nativistic policy so far as to destroy the economic resources of other parts of the Austrian Empire, as, for instance, the forests of Dalmatia, in order to protect their own economic existence. Other races have been less successful, either from a lack of political genius or from the overpowering strength of their political superiors. An aid to the successful, the principle of nationalism has been turned against the less fortunate. Under its influence attempts are constantly being made to force races like the Irish, the Poles, and the Finns into unwilling assimilation with nations that are politically organised and superior in strength. For it is necessary to distinguish the spirit of nationalism from that of particularism just as sharply as from that of the world state of the Middle Ages; it does not look with favour upon local peculiarities and variations, but rather stands for a thoroughgoing assimilation of all the component parts of the nation.

It has thus come about that the successful nations have developed a clearly marked individuality. The cosmopolitanism of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, the dreams of world unity, have been replaced by a set of narrower national ideals concerning customs, laws, literature, and art,—by a community of independent states, each striving to realise to the fullest its individual aptitudes and characteristics. It is not necessary to infer from this a universal reign of chauvinism. The idea of the general solidarity of mankind is still strong enough to restrain national action in some measure. In ordinary times there is a healthy competition between the members of the international commonwealth,—a competition sharpened by the knowledge that temporary weakness may mean loss of national existence. Meanwhile, international law holds a balance between the states by

preventing any of the stronger members from unjustly oppressing the smaller civilised nations. Under these conditions, too great uniformity of civilisation is avoided, and humanity is given an opportunity to develop its varying characteristics. Thus the ideal of the period is as far removed from the dead uniformity of a world empire on the one hand, as it is on the other from the distracting anarchy of a régime of mere local custom. The world community idea of the great founders of international law, Grotius and Suarez, and of philosophers of eternal peace, like Saint-Pierre and Kant, is reconcilable with the existence of national states, if it is understood to imply, not political union, but the active co-operation of all nations in the common work of mankind.—(REINSCH, "World Politics," pp. 1-6.)

This has been the political spirit of the West. And in Asia, where the ideal of nationality has been weak partly because of the racial character of the Asiatic peoples, partly because of their religious and social philosophy, and partly because their political history had enfeebled the sense of national identity, but chiefly because absolutism had given no room for the exercise of the political reason, we have witnessed in our own day a development of national consciousness surpassing anything that we have seen in the West. First, Japan laid aside her system of Oriental feudalism, which supplied her with a political organisation but which did not produce a national consciousness or give her any living national purpose. By a wisely guided transition, which preserved the constructive political elements of the ancient order, Japan passed over into the character of a modern state, with a definite and conscious national personality, charged with a distinct sense of national rights and duties and a definite national mission. With Japan, Siam by different processes, and with different consequences, with no such rupture of her organisation or political methods, and with no such energy of national purpose, but with placid adaptation as characteristic of her history as Japan's eager absorption of the new idea was in keeping with Japan's past, took on the character of a Western national state. After these, and with heavy labours, which are still shaking the earth, China has been slowly struggling out of her old, antique notions of nationality, very real but impossible

in a real world. History has seen nothing greater than the birth throes of China's new nationalism. By those throes one-fourth of the human race are coming into a new political consciousness, and with it will claim a distinct racial destiny, which we may well pray may include no purpose of vengeance in the new nation for its antenatal wrongs. With this incomplete but fast developing nationalism in China we are witnessing also a struggle whose progress is more involved and whose issue is more uncertain in India and in the Mohammedan lands of western Asia. For a century British influence in India has been directed to one end—to unify the life and thought of the country, and to school it to justice and modern political ideals. The best representatives of Great Britain in India have always declared that the end of British rule would be an Indian nationality. "In the background of every Englishman's mind," says Mr. Theodore Morrison, formerly Principal of the Mohammedan College at Aligarh, in "Imperial Rule in India," "is probably to be found the conviction that it is our duty to so govern India that she may one day be able to govern herself, and as an autonomous unit take her place in the great confederation of the British Empire." Macaulay, when legal member of the Council in India, contemplated the possibilities of a yet more distinct nationality. "It may be," he said, "that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system; that by good government we can educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future day demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I do not know. But never will I attempt to arrest or to retard it. Whenever it does come, it will be the proudest day in English history." And Sir Herbert Edwardes, one of the great men of the early days in India, dreamed of a completely free nation. "England," said he, "taught by both past and present, should set before her the noble policy of first fitting India for freedom, and then setting her free. . . . It may take years, it may take a century to fit India for self-government, but it is a thing worth doing, and a thing that

may be done." There could be but one result of the policy which Great Britain has pursued, and which was capable of justifying such words as these. Whether, indeed, India can be unified, and if so, by what power, are problems which religion and not politics will answer; but surely, as the Bishop of Lahore said in his charge of 1906 at his third triennial visitation, when he quoted the words of Macaulay and Edwardes, "would it not be madness to come with our English ideals, our ideals of personal freedom and equality of opportunity, of local self-government established or aimed at, and of essential justice between man and man, to seek by every means in our power to infuse them into the life and thought of this land, and then—then to expect nothing to happen—to expect that all things would continue as they have been from the beginning,"—to preach in the hearing of the people the ideal of a free and united nationality for them and not foresee that they would inevitably begin to discuss and desire this nationality for themselves? They are doing so. "Important classes among you," said the King in his message to the people of India, November 1, 1908, "representing ideas which have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and great share in legislation and government."

And even in Persia and Turkey, where Asiatic absolutism has lasted longest and been most complete, the fountains of the deeps have been broken up. Free thought has uttered itself in free speech in lands where the denial of freedom of speech seemed to have resulted in the paralysis of men's minds. The demand for representative institutions and constitutional guarantees in these countries has been the natural, perhaps in Persia the merely conventional, form of expression of the inward stirring of the national spirit.

The national resentment of Korea at the domination of Japan is due to her dread of the extinction of her national autonomy. The new order is vastly superior to the old, and the men who have been at the head of the Japanese administration of Korea have been of the highest political principle, but the Koreans had looked forward to the opportunity to develop their national

character and destiny as an independent political personality, and are even yet unwilling to surrender what they regard as their right to free statehood.

This spirit of nationalism is inevitable and it is invaluable. It is not in conflict with the ideal of a united humanity. It is essential to its realisation. The same God Who made of one blood all nations of men, assigned them also their racial and national character and destinies to the end of a perfected humanity. The development of state consciousness, state conscience, state ambition, state duty, is a development in the will of God for man, and the true world citizenship will recognise this and build the unity of mankind, not upon any speculative theory of humanity, nor upon any sand-heap of individual units, but upon corporate nationalities such as God has always dealt with and built upon in human history. He used a nation to prepare the salvation of the world, and He has always wrought His purposes through racial movements. His men were men of their nations, and His judgments were judgments of nations of men.

The problems presented by a world made up of conscious and independent nationalities, with distinct missions to fulfil and distinct contributions to make to the ultimate perfected human society, are complicated and difficult. Each nation resents any interference with its autonomy and racial aspirations. It may misconstrue and oppose the offer of those services which are essential to the fulfilment of its destiny as Japan did, and as China has done for a hundred years. Good and evil, loss and gain, truth and falsehood are mingled in all relations between individuals · they will be mingled, also, in international relations. One nation will seek in the fulfilment of its ambitions the extinction of another nation. One of the two great problems of our day is the problem of the clear discovery by each nation of its true mission and the friendly and co-operative adjustment of this mission to the divinely appointed and distinctive mission of each other nation. The problem has been sadly mishandled. The nations have made their way toward light, but it has been through tears and blood.

Now this problem of the nations is the inevitable problem of the Churches also. For the aim of foreign missions is to plant Christianity indigenously in the life of each nation, to domesticate it there and let it grow up and out in the forms of life appropriate to it in the new environment to which it has been naturalised, to which, indeed, it has not needed to be naturalised so far as it has been presented in its true character of the universal life and faith of man. So far as we succeed in carrying out this aim, we build up in each nation, or we are witnesses to a building up by God of Churches rooted in the life of each separate nation, each one made up of its nation's people, subject to its distinctive character and participating in its national mission and destiny. Our very fundamental ideal in foreign missions involves the creation of the national problem, the problem of the relation of national Churches or of Churches which are to become national.

I fear that it may be necessary somewhat to explain and defend this ideal, and to appeal later for a candid acceptance of all that it involves. It certainly is the ideal of missions for which we must contend. The Roman Catholic ideal and the ideal of some Protestant bodies is different. There are Protestant missionary organisations whose professed aim is to extend over the world their own denominational institution, with its doctrines, its polity, and often with the subjection of the new Churches which may be established to the chief authorities of the Western Church whose missionaries established them. Such native Churches, instead of being true national Churches, a component part of the national life, and entering pervasively and completely into its mission, are only local branches of an alien Church, a Chinese or Indian section of an American or Anglican or German organisation, with racial traditions, qualities, and responsibilities wholly distinct from those of the subject branch. The policy of the Roman Church is, of course, a part of its character and traditional principle. Much is said of its adaptation to the life of the people to whom it goes. Mr. Kelly draws a true picture of the noble devotion and conscientious adaptation to their work of the Roman priests:

Free from all ties of the world, having no family cares to distract their attention, they are at perfect liberty to follow their vocation, which is, like the Apostles, to be all things to all men, in order to gain souls to Jesus Christ. As the Son of God came on earth to save man, so the missionaries who continue His work, set aside their prejudices and conform themselves, as far as is allowable, to the manners of the people they wish to convert. This being an essential condition to insure success, the missionaries lead the life and wear the dress of the Chinese, so that there may be as little difference, and as few causes of distrust between them and the people as possible, and a closeness of intercourse which will enable them to smooth away many difficulties, and to study and understand the good and bad qualities of the soil they have to cultivate. At the same time by their sacred calling they are able to discern the virtues and the vices of individuals; they come in contact with families, and in this way they acquire knowledge of many a detail connected with the life of the people. The Chinese do not consider them as travellers or mere birds of passage, but as neighbors who speak the same language, and very often as dear friends living under the same roof. In one word, China is the adopted home in which the Catholic missionaries live and die, and which they love in spite of many privations and hardships, that are not as well known as the dangers of ill-treatment and murder, and yet are the great cause of the mortality that so rapidly thins the ranks of these zealous priests.—(KELLY, "Another China," p. 37 ff.)

But the ideal of independent nations, each working out through its own free state and free national Church its own mission and contribution to the perfected humanity which God is fashioning, is an ideal with which Rome has ever been at war. The Churches which she founds are all subject Churches. On the foreign mission fields she imposes a devoted and adapted but still an alien clergy. In Brazil, at the present time, she is crowding out the Brazilian priests and dominating the whole Church with its rich endowments by foreign orders. In the state of Santa Catharina there are only three Brazilian priests left. In South Africa, we are told in the Report of the South African Native Races Committee, that "the Trappists, Jesuits, Marists, and other Roman Catholic missionaries keep their native converts in a subordinate position, enforcing a strict discipline

and insisting on industrial training. 'I noticed in the church of the splendid Trappist mission in Natal,' writes Mr. A. Colquhoun, 'that the members of the Order, the lay brothers, and the native congregation, each had their special place in which they worshipped'; and he points out that, although a native may sometimes become a lay brother, the Roman Catholic bodies 'admit no natives to their orders, and maintain a strictly disciplinarian relation with all their converts, never admitting them to an equality in matters ecclesiastical.'" The ideal of the Roman Church is to subject all Churches everywhere to the Roman tradition, the Roman theory, and the Roman government.

This is not our ideal. Our ideal is to establish in each land a native Church that shall be of the soil, rooted in the tradition and life of the people, fitted to its customs and institutions, sharing its character and participating in its mission, yes, defining and inspiring that mission as it can do only when it is a truly national Church subject to no alien bondage. In such a Church Christianity will, of course, surrender nothing that is essential and universal. She enters into no compromise. She simply domesticates herself in a new home which she has been long in finding, and from the new roots which she sinks into humanity expands that interpretation of the life of God in man and nourishes that hope of man's future in God, which can only be perfected as all the peoples bring their glory and honour into the final temple of humanity.

In this view our ideal is not to project our Western ecclesiastical organisations into the mission fields, but to carry there the Catholic principles of the Gospel, let them take root and develop, while we give our fostering aid to their growth and such guidance to the institutional forms which they will take as we are able to give, but as will not hinder the nationalisation of our religion, which will show its divine adaptation and power by taking a Chinese body to itself in China, as it took a Scotch body in Scotland. With different measures of completeness, and yet with candid acceptance of the central principle, widely differing agencies have set forth this view. In 1886 the Committee of the Church Missionary Society adopted a statement of which

one article was the following: "That this Society deprecates any measure of Church organisation which may tend to permanently subject the native Church communities in India to the forms and arrangements of the National and Established Church of a far distant and very different country, and therefore desires that all present arrangements for Church organisation should remain as elastic as possible until the native Christians themselves shall be numerous and powerful enough to have a dominant voice in the formation of an ecclesiastical constitution on lines suitable to the Indian people,—a constitution which the Society trusts will, while maintaining full communion with the Church of England, be such as to promote the unity of Indian Christendom." In like manner, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, declared in 1890 its approval of an action of its Board of Foreign Missions, recommending to its Missions in various lands, "that they encourage as far as practicable the formation of union churches, in which the results of the mission work of all allied evangelical churches should be gathered, and that they observe everywhere the most generous principles of missionary comity," and adopting a statement of one of its Committees, as follows:

In the view of the Board, the object of the foreign missionary enterprise is not to perpetuate on the mission field the denominational distinctions of Christendom, but to build up on Scriptural lines, and according to Scriptural principles and methods, the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Where Church union cannot be attained, the Board and missions will seek such divisions of territory as will leave as large districts as possible to the exclusive care and development of separate agencies. It is believed that in other regards, also, missionary comity should be given large range: (1) Salaries of native workers should be so adjusted among missions as not to introduce an element of dissatisfaction among the workers of any mission, or to tempt them away from the mission with which they are connected. (2) Each mission and the churches connected therewith should recognise the acts of discipline of other missions and the churches connected with them. (3) In co-operative educational work, and especially where the schools of one mission train helpers for

other missions, the latter should render some compensatory service. (4) Printing establishments are in many missions required by the missionary work. Such should not be unnecessarily duplicated. The printing establishment of one mission should, if possible, be made to serve the needs of all others in the same territory. (5) A hospital invariably opens wide opportunities for evangelistic work. Until these are properly utilised, it is not judicious or economical to establish further unutilised spiritual opportunities. (6) Fellowship and union among native Christians of whatever name should be encouraged in every possible way, with a view to that unity of all disciples for which our Lord prayed, and to which all mission effort should contribute.

From the beginning the free Churches have had leaders who spoke in the same Catholic mind. And at the consecration of the new bishops of Bombay and Polynesia on Ascension Day, 1908, Bishop Gore set forth the oft-repeated warning of wise missionary leaders against the confusion of our nationalism with that Catholic Christianity which will find a home in every other nationality. "There is," said he, "a very specifically Anglican colour about our home religion, which we ought to have no desire to perpetuate in India. An Englishman, wherever he goes, is apt to identify his religion with his memories of home. We ought to identify our religion with the Christ of all nations. What we desire is to see an Indian Church arise with an Indian episcopate and an Indian spirit."—(*The Churchman,* June 27, 1908.)

But this ideal creates in missions the same problems which we have noted in the political life of our time—the problem of relations between the missions as representing foreign Churches on one side, and the native Churches on the other. Those Churches which, whether by theory or by practice, obscure any distinction between the two, and either confuse the missions with the native Churches or subordinate the native Churches to foreign ecclesiastical organisations, do not escape the problem. They lay it up for themselves in a more difficult and aggravated form, unless their work is entirely without fruit. If it bears fruit, if men are influenced by it, then inevitably

the question of the relation of these men and their new principles to those of their own race and nation, their relations to the foreign missionaries who brought the Gospel to them, and to the Churches and nations which they represent and cannot escape from representing, will arise, and it is in the highest degree desirable that it should arise.

It is an inevitable evil, to which attention has already been drawn, that Christianity must appear in the mission field as a foreign religion, connected with foreign peoples and institutions in a way that arouses the suspicion of the nationalistic aspirations of non-Christian states. The first converts must bear the reproach of unpatriotic and disloyal action. They will be regarded as attachés of a foreign doctrine, and at the very outset will appear without the character of a native institution, as allies of barbaric disturbers of the national ideals. We need to remember that, after all, Christianity met this same problem at the outset in its entrance upon the Greek world. Aristides defends "the Greek nationality against the Christian and philosophic cosmopolitanism."—(HARNACK, "Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries," Vol. II, p. 129.) "To him," says Harnack, "Christians are despisers of Hellenism. How a man like Tatian must have irritated him! Neumann thus gives the charges of Aristides: 'People who themselves are simply of no account venture to slander a Demosthenes. . . . They have severed themselves deliberately from the Greeks, or rather from all that is good in the world. Incapable of co-operating for any useful end whatsoever, they yet are masters of the art of undermining a household and setting its members by the ears. Not a word, not an idea, not a deed of theirs has ever borne fruit. They take no part in organising festivals, nor do they pay honour to the gods. They occupy no seats on civic councils, they never comfort the sad, they never reconcile those who are at variance, they do nothing for the advancement of the young, or indeed of anybody. They take no thought for style, but creep into a corner and talk stupidly. They are venturing already on the cream of Greece and calling themselves 'Philosophers.'" Aristides said then just what in mission fields

of our own day the nationalistic spirit has said of the Christian Church. To the extent to which it is a new and upheaving force, the Church can say nothing; it can only proceed to do its work of conversion of others and of the spirit it opposes. But to the extent that the charge of disloyalty and alienism is true, it can only raise with itself the question whether it is native or foreign, whether its founders ought to be its masters and preside over its destinies as well as its origins.

We pass over the personal forms in which the problem is sure to arise from the ambitions of individual leaders both native and foreign, whether these ambitions are founded and directed well or ill. Apart from all personalities, the question springs from the very nature of things. The Eastern nations are coming to a new national consciousness. Who are to be the leaders of the new day? In that which concerns and expresses the deeper life of these peoples are Christian men to take a leading place or not? What shall be the relation of the Christian Church to these movements, which, as a matter of fact, it helped to originate, to which it alone can give the right principle and the truest guidance? Surely if Christianity is to be a power in the lives of these people, it must enter into their national character and form and control its hopes and ambitions. Well, that is the last thing it can do as an exotic, an alien imposition, an influence organised and directed from without. If it is not to be this, if it is to fulfil its destiny as the directing force of national character and purpose, the question of the right relations of mission and native Church must be raised, and raised from the outset.

And not only is the problem inevitable. It is in the highest degree desirable. Those missions are to be congratulated upon which it has pressed first and most insistently. It is a hopeful sign of the reality of the work done in Japan and China that the question has arisen and demanded solution there, and it is the most discouraging element in the situation in India that after a hundred years of mission work in that land the ideal of so many of the men who should be the leaders of the native Church, engaged in rooting Christianity and its life deep in the soil and

native institutions, is to become employees of foreign missionary organisations on the basis and with the status of foreign missionaries. I repeat that this seems to me one of the saddest and most discouraging features of missionary work. It is a symptom of the same disposition of which Mr. R. I. Paul complains in an article on "Indian Christians and the National Movement." "Does it not behoove us," says this Indian Christian, "to dispel from the minds of our non-Christian brethren the suspicions that we count ourselves as other than Indians? If we persist in keeping aloof, what other conclusion is possible? Nay, more. Are we not giving ground to the deplorable idea that Christianity is videshi? As Dr. Ghose has well said, 'Are we not working, praying, and waiting for the glorious day when our Hind becomes a Christian country?' Deeply have we realised that Christianity has come not only to stay in India, but also to conquer it; and that this will take place whether a Christian nation rules us or not—so firm is our idea that Christianity is becoming more and more every day a Swadeshi religion. But can any thinking non-Christian in India be got to think so? If not, the fault lies with our aloofness."—(*The Young Men of India,* January, 1909.) It is high time that the question raised long ago in Japan should be raised in India, not the petty and fallacious question of how to control the expenditure of mission funds, but the deep and vital question of how to build up a true native Church which shall be able to lay hold upon the living movements of the nation and give them genius and guidance. And this question, as a matter of practical missionary administration, is a question of ecclesiastical national relations. It is the problem of nationalism expressed in terms of mission and native Church.

And the point to which we address ourselves is this: Cannot the problem which in politics has not been solved, but only slowly worked out in tears and blood, be so dealt with in religion as to bind men together from the outset in the harmonious fulfilment of diverse functions, and the development of that ecclesiastical nationalism which is to give spiritual meaning and direction to all others? We must believe that it can.

To this end it is necessary to recognise that it is a problem which we confront, and to define to ourselves the nature of this problem. First of all, it is a problem in right ideals and right education from the outset. The mission movement must see what the end is that it is seeking, and must keep this clearly before itself, no matter how long delayed its realisation may be, and it must set it before the native Church from the beginning, so that no false education shall leave behind it results from which the future generations can only extricate themselves with suffering. In the second place, it is a problem in gradual transition. It is this which constitutes one great element of difficulty. At first there is no native Church. When it begins, it may begin in the conversion of some one poor individual, it may be a personal servant. The growth may be slow. Long before the time of maturity will have come the mission will have had to anticipate it and to lay the foundation of institutions essential to the life and power of the native Church, which will in due time become the business of the Church. As the Church approaches maturity, there will still remain duties which the mission is to aid it in discharging. If the mission and the native Church started on equal footing and qualified at the outset to arrange their relations, the whole question would be different; but the problem is one of a long and complicated transition in which the slowess of the process easily obscures the essential principles and the ultimate issues. In the third place, as has just been suggested, it is a problem in relations. The mission is a foreign mission. Its work may be long continued, but it can only be permanent where it is a failure. The greater the success, the more temporary its character. Its end is to create something else to which it is to give place. The problem is one of right relationship to the fulfilment of this end. It is on this very account, also, a problem in distinctions. The native Church is to be independent. Unless that independence is to be secured by crisis and revolution, it must be prepared for by wise recognition of free and separate rights from the outset, and by the cordial development of liberty. Henry Venn's schemes for the definition of distinct duties and rights on the part of native con-

gregations have been thoughtfully criticised by a modern student of missions on the ground that by his system "the difference between the work and aims of the missionary society and those of the Church it has brought into being is unnecessarily accentuated."—(RICHTER, "History of Indian Missions," p. 431.) It may be, but there is a difference and it needs to be discerned and firmly accentuated. If no such difference is observed in the long preparatory years, it will be difficult to secure its recognition afterwards. Missions will have to go on doing work which a native Church should long before have been raised up to do, as is the case in India, and the native Church will be an exotic or a parasite when it ought to be a native and indigenous power, pervading and moulding the life of the nation. And lastly, the problem is a problem also in faith and love. It is a problem in faith and trust. Men take on the character with which you credit them. They become what you trust that they are. Movements and institutions, also. They learn as men learn, by effort and experiment, by the actual attempt to discharge responsibility, by failure oft-repeated and by mistakes. We must not think that we can carry on mission work in disregard of all the principles of human nature and true education. Responsibilities must be laid on the native Churches from the beginning, and they must be expected and trusted to do many things, which they may not do or may not do nearly as well as they would be done by a well-organised foreign mission. Diverse judgments are presented to us on this issue by men who, if they faced practical issues together, might not after all be very far apart. On the one hand, Dr. Warneck wrote to the students at the Liverpool Conference in 1908, expressing his misgivings as to the consequences of free action and undirected growth on the part of the new Churches of the East. He pointed out two dangers, as he saw them:

The first is the danger of a religious eclecticism, which has already attained formidable proportions in Japan, and which will, I fear, before long, start propaganda in China and India, and turn many heads. It is by no means confined to frankly non-Christian circles, which speak quite openly of a development of

Christianity by the incorporation of Buddhist and Confucianist doctrines, but also Japanese native Christians, including conspicuous preachers, who are questioning the finality of Christianity, and are leaving it an open question what and how much can be taken over from other religions in order to complete the Christian faith. I cannot stop to prove this, in this short message of greeting, but if you study the accurate reports which are not idealistic, which come from Japan, you will find sufficient proof of what I say. It is not the first time that a young native Church has found itself face to face with eclectic dangers of this sort. As you know from your Church history, such dangers existed in the early Christian centuries. In the Far East, we stand now only on the threshold of these dangers; but do not close your eyes to them and, in so far as you may be called to take a part in the Christianising of those lands, spare no effort that the old apostolic Gospel is not mingled with heathen elements.

The other danger is that of a premature complete independence of the young native churches from the parent Christendom. Of course, it is the objective of all missionary agencies to raise up self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending native Churches, and our whole missionary aim is, at present, directed towards educating them to independence of this kind. But a healthy education avoids sudden leaps. We must first have Christians who are mature, well grounded in Christian doctrine, stable in morals, capable of an independent judgment in spiritual matters, rich in Christian experience, before we can constitute completely independent native Churches. Without that guarantee, there is, as experience everywhere shows, the danger of a religious and moral declension. If a doctrine, right enough in itself, lacks practical pedagogic wisdom in its actual application to life, it becomes a dangerous theorising.

On the other hand, Mr. Meredith Townsend proposes the heroic course of abandonment of the native Churches to their own development.

Let every native Church once founded be left to itself or be helped only by letters of advice, as the Churches of Asia were, to seek for itself the rule of life which best suits Christianity in India, to press that part of Christianity most welcome to the people, to urge those dogmatic truths which most attract and hold them. We in England have almost forgotten those discussions on the nature of God which divided the Eastern Empire of Rome, and which among Christian Indians would probably

revive in their fullest force. It is the very test of Christianity that it can adapt itself to all civilisations and improve all, and the true native Churches of India will no more be like the Reformed Churches of Europe than the Churches of Yorkshire are like the Churches of Asia Minor. Strange beliefs, strange organisations, many of them spiritual despotisms of a lofty type, like that of Keshub Chunder Sen, the most original of all modern Indians, wild aberrations from the truth, it may be even monstrous heresies, will appear among them, but there will be life, conflict, energy, and the faith will spread, not as it does now like a fire in a middle-class stove, but like a fire in the forest. There is far too much fear of imperfect Christianity in the whole missionary organisation. Christianity is always imperfect in its beginnings. The majority of Christians in Constantine's time would have seemed to modern missionaries mere worldlings; the converted Saxons were for centuries violent brutes; and the mass of Christians throughout the world are even now no better than indifferents. None the less is it true that the race which embraces Christianity, even nominally, rises with a bound out of its former position, and contains in itself thenceforward the seed of a nobler and more lasting life.

Mr. Townsend's proposal may be regarded by some as only theoretical as yet, since no Asiatic people can be said to have embraced Christianity as a race, and some might argue that no native Church has yet been adequately founded in Asia. But the Rev. F. B. Meyer some years ago was prepared to go the full length of Mr. Townsend's proposition without further delay. In an interview dictated and corrected for an American paper, he said:

It might be the very best thing for China, and India as well, if all the American and European missionaries would have to clear out. I have had no personal experience or observation in China, but I have in India. The one thing lacking in the life of the Indian Christians is independence. They lean on the foreign missionaries. If the missionaries went two things would happen:

1. The "rice Christians" would drop off.

2. Those on whom real growth must depend would be compelled to take a determined stand, and through them the Holy Ghost would probably produce a native Christian Church that

would prove the one organisation for the evangelisation of India. I doubt if India can be evangelised by present methods. Both American (to an extent) and English missionaries stand as the representatives of a conquering race, to whom the weak cringe or depend for support, and from whom the self-reliant stand aloof.

As in the case of Madagascar the awful persecution in the sixties proved the means of developing a strong Madagascar Church, so persecutions in China incident to the present upheaval may well prove under God the development of a strong Chinese Church. In China the Gospel is not now indigenous. I think the time is ready for withdrawal of the foreigners. The early Christian Church had not as long a time of probation before its leaders were given up to martyrdom, and yet the Church stood. It will stand in China, the more so that the Chinese have the Scriptures. For that matter, my judgment is that the principle holds more in China than in India, and from my own knowledge I am convinced that the American and European missionaries will have to leave India before the work there becomes truly successful. The Chinese character is of stronger stuff than the Indian. The Chinese make superb preachers, and are excellent evangelists. Of course the Europeans and Americans would leave the property there for native use. In this whole matter I am only trying to interpret what I think to be the course of God's providence. Christendom has never had a chance to know the splendid stuff of which native Christians in China are made. Withdraw the foreign Christian workers and I believe we shall soon force the Church in both countries to become indigenous and independent, and see it prosper as it can never prosper under present conditions.—(*The Church Economist,* Sept., 1900.)

This is a measure of confidence in the ability of the native Church to evangelise the world which neither those Churches nor the foreign missions are able as yet to feel, although the day for it will surely come, and when it does come the transition will be made not because of the failure of the missions, but because of their success, a success prepared for by generous confidence in the native Churches, and by trust in the Spirit of God, Who is leading them as truly as He is leading the Churches of the West. For the problem with which we are dealing is, as I have said, a problem of trust. If we do not trust the

native Churches and trust them with responsibility, we shall only raise up anæmic imitations of Western models, which will be impotent to play their part in the national destinies which they ought to be moulding and inspiring. I am content to state the convictions set forth in these lectures in the words of a great Indian missionary, Robert Clark of the Punjab, in which he speaks of the natural leaders of the native Church: "It would seem to follow, then, that we must make them the actors in missionary work, and must not let them be merely the persons who are always acted on. We must throw responsibility on them, and throw on them difficulties, too, as they occur; and, placing them in the arena, in the sight of God and man, we must let them act, and see how they will act, and encourage them to act well, and of themselves. Have we not, we may ask, made duties, and especially mission duties, too easy for native Christians; so that they are still, even now, many of them, mere babes, without self-reliance, or ability to originate or carry out measures by themselves; so that, without any will or wish of their own, they are like the pieces at a game of chess, put forward by the player, and, when left to themselves, remain everlastingly in the same position in which they were placed? It would seem that they must begin to act for themselves; to preach for themselves; to conduct schools for themselves; to go out on itinerations for themselves; to publish books for themselves; to raise subscriptions for themselves; to live by themselves; leaning on no arm but their own and God's."—(CLARK, "Robert Clark of the Punjab," p. 251.)

Such an attitude of confidence is possible only to great love. It is the love of parents in the home which makes them too wise to do for their children what they should do for themselves. The metaphors of paternalism are not good in mission work, but yet in a true sense the native Churches are the children of the older Christian Churches. Those older Churches show the greater love to the newer who trust them truly. And in a closer sense the problem is a problem of love as well as of confidence. We are dealing with men and women of the same spirit as ourselves, with the same feelings and rights. The whole

course and issue of difficult and complicated questions of institutional relations and adjustments may depend upon personal courtesy and affection. Dr. Warneck rightly states that "we must first have Christians who are mature, well-grounded in Christian doctrine, stable in morals, capable of an independent judgment in spiritual matters, rich in Christian experience, before we can constitute completely independent native Churches." There are many such Christians, and the solution of the problem with which we are dealing will hinge upon our confidence in them as men entitled to be trusted wholly, and upon our affection for them as personal friends.

I believe that this is the general way in which we should view the problem. It remains to consider it in its practical detail. The administrative ideal of foreign missions is the establishment of independent national Churches. The familiar adjectives describing the practical characteristics which, in their relation to missions, it is sought to develop in these Churches are self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing.

The primary essential of Christianity is self-extension. It is the sign of life. The Church is here to make disciples of all the nations. To that end, as Dr. A. J. Gordon was accustomed to say, "every disciple must be a discipler." The first Christian must go out at once to tell his story and to win others. From the very beginning the Church must be an evangelistic agency. The early Church was such a living, self-propagating power. The work was not done by a few select missionaries. The very life of the Church was a propaganda. Harnack describes its character and its method:

> The most numerous and successful missionaries of the Christian religion were not the regular teachers but Christians themselves, by dint of their loyalty and courage. How little we hear of the former and their results, how much of the effects produced by the latter!
>
> If this dominated all their life, and if they lived according to the precepts of their religion, they could not be hidden at all; by their very mode of living they could not fail to preach their faith plainly and audibly. Then there was the conviction that the day of judgment was at hand, and that they were debtors

to the heathen. Furthermore, so far from narrowing Christianity, the exclusiveness of the Gospel was a powerful aid in promoting its mission, owing to the sharp dilemma which it involved.

We cannot hesitate to believe that the great mission of Christianity was in reality accomplished by means of informal missionaries. Justin says so explicitly.—(HARNACK, "The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries," Vol. I, pp. 458-460.)

This character must be given to the native Church on the foreign mission field from the first hour of its existence. Before there is a church organisation, before there is a baptised believer, the principle of propagandism must be planted in the first enquirers. They must be taught that the duty of spreading Christianity by life and word is the duty of every Christian. It is not the duty of official preachers only, far less of those alone who are supported by such work. Wrong conceptions on these points can easily be given at the outset, and their fatal effects will be felt for generations. There are native Churches which are not only ineffective as forces of propaganda, but positively obstructive. And their character is due in part to a wrong education at the outset. The duty of making Christ known must be impressed upon the Church by impressing it upon each believer at the very beginning. That has been done in Uganda and Korea, and in two ways. First, the enquirer in Korea was asked whether he had told any one else of the Gospel, and was not received until he could bring some one else. The new Christians tasted the joy and learned the duty of evangelism at the start. Secondly, the missionaries set before the Church the right example. It would have imitated the contrary example of torpor, stagnant home-keeping, general conversation on civilisation, routine secularism, and occasional religious activity on set occasion if that example had been offered. A heavy responsibiliy rests on the founders of native Churches in this matter. "There are some missionaries," writes an experienced and untiring worker in China, "who are doing aggressive evangelistic work and thus setting an example to the Chinese Church, but too many allow themselves to be occupied simply with the

care of stations that they have fallen heir to, or that have come to them in some way without much effort on their part, so that all the growth is simply addition from the family connections in the old Christian stations that have probably existed for twenty or thirty years. This fact, with its bearings, is one of the most serious in the mission enterprise. Missionaries ought to be an example to the Chinese Church in the matter of consecrated enterprise."—(*The Chinese Recorder,* October, 1908, Art. "Evangelism in Relation to the Growth of the Chinese Church." See also speech by Bishop Tucker on "Self-extension, Self-support, and Self-government in Missionary Churches," at the Anglican Church Congress, Brighton, 1901.) The self-propagating zeal of native Churches is the measure of missionary fidelity in this regard, and a noble and convincing testimony it provides, but the foreign missions of the Western Churches have not always discerned that the great duty of evangelisation must rest upon the native Churches, and that the duty must be taught the native Churches by beginning to teach it by method and policy and example before ever the native Churches exist. And if one characteristic of the native Church is to be exalted above another, it is this one. As a matter of fact, is it not the one least talked about, least exalted? But of what use is a self-supporting and self-governing Church which is spiritually dead? The very purpose of the Church is to carry the Gospel to every creature and to form the national character and inspire the national purpose. The missionary enterprise fails in its central mission if it does not establish Churches whose life is dominated by the spirit of national propagandism and world evangelisation. This is the first thing.

The second is self-support. It is more important than self-government, as a man's duties are more important than his rights. From the very beginning, the ideal of self-support, just as the ideal of self-propagation, must be imbedded in the germinating and growing native Church. The first preaching must, of course, be by the missionaries, but just as soon as possible the native Church itself must be set to doing the preaching and meeting the expense of it. Where the work meets with speedy

success it may be possible to make the work of the Church self-supporting from the outset. This has been the case in Uganda. Bishop Tucker set forth the remarkable record of the Uganda Church at the Brighton Church Congress in 1901:

I have already spoken of the 2,000 native evangelists at work in the country. These are all maintained by the native Church. The same is true of the 27 native clergy. Nor is this all. The churches and schools of the country—some 700 in number—are built, repaired, and maintained by the natives themselves. In one word, the whole work of the native Church—its educational, pastoral, and missionary work—is maintained entirely from native sources. Not one single halfpenny of English money is employed in its maintenance.

What is the secret of the attainment of this most desirable state of things? Two things from the very beginning have been kept steadily in view. First, the necessity of bringing home to the minds of the converts a sense not merely of the duty and responsibility, but also of the privilege, of giving to the support of their own Church; and secondly (and this is vitally important), the setting one's face "like a flint" against the employment by the missionaries of European funds in the work of the native Church.

It is so easy to appeal to wealthy and generous friends at home for £10 or £15 for the support of a Bible-woman or a native evangelist, and so difficult to continue in the work of inculcating by slow degrees the responsibility and privilege of giving. But here again, as in the case of self-extension, self-denial must come in, and the temptation to appeal to loving friends at home must be resisted at all costs.

We are hearing continually of the deficits of missionary societies; and no wonder, when their funds are so largely employed in the maintenance of native Churches. Numbers of native Christians are being deprived of the inestimable privilege of supporting their own Church by the mistaken kindness of missionaries and missionary societies. Such missionaries and such societies are, in my opinion, inflicting a cruel wrong on those native Churches whose burdens they seek to bear. They are depriving them of one of the surest means of growth and development to maturity of life and action.

But it is not everywhere that so many Christians come into the Church. There are fields where the work has been carried

on for years with small direct result, where the missions are supporting great and expensive schools and maintaining many evangelists, and where they have organised churches with pastors whom the people are not able, or do not think that they are able, to support, and whose salaries are paid from mission funds while they preach in church buildings erected and maintained by mission funds and in mission compounds. There are other fields where the work has been fruitful, but where the advance propagation is in the hands of the missions, which employ evangelists and helpers who itinerate or locate over congregations which become soon self-supporting churches. Many practical questions arise under these conditions on which devoted and capable missionaries are of different opinions. Should foreign money be used for the employment of native agents? If so, on what scale and with what limitations? Should pastors be given to churches unable to support them in whole or in part? If not, with what provision for entire self-support at the proper time? Should men be employed whom the native Church, if it were in charge, would not employ, or for salaries which the native Church would not pay, or for work which it would not do? Should church buildings be erected for the people? These are but a few of many questions which constitute the missionary's daily problem. Back of them all, however, we may press to two fundamental principles which may be difficult of application, but which are not likely to be applied at all unless we see them and resolve to adhere to them. The first is that we are not to set up and maintain with our foreign funds institutions or ideals which do not enter in and minister to the character of a truly national Church. Foreign standards of salary, of architecture, of organisation, are natural for us. They may be not only alien but crushing to the native Church. The second is that we are not to do for others what they can and ought to do for themselves. There is no kindness, there is positive harm in providing for native agents and native agencies on a scale and for purposes which are beyond what they can and ought to provide for themselves.

The problem which is presented here is no mere academic

problem. It is a matter of life and death. If the foreign missions are to be charged with the permanent maintenance of the native Churches which they establish, they will break down of their own weight unless the native Churches themselves decay from a want of exercise of the functions essential to life. And the native Churches will scarcely be worth maintaining, as they can have no power to mould a national life in which, as mere subsidised projections of foreign organisations, they can have no vital part.

There are situations in the mission fields which teach us the vital importance of the issue. One of them was set forth at the monthly meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference in March, 1900. The following account of the Conference's consideration of "Self-support and Self-propagation in the Native Churches," is from *The Indian Witness* of March 16, 1900:

A VITAL QUESTION OF THE HOUR

Seldom has it fallen to our lot to attend a more depressing meeting in some respects than the monthly meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference held last Monday evening. The subject for consideration was "Self-support and Self-propagation in the Native Churches," introduced by a paper read by the Rev. W. R. Le Quesne, of the London Missionary Society. The native Churches of Bengal were especially in thought. Declining to discuss the second part of his theme, on the ground that self-propagation was impossible while self-support remained unachieved, Mr. Le Quesne pointed out that after a hundred years of missionary labours in Bengal the hopes cherished concerning self-support appear to be almost as far from fulfilment as ever. Important experiments made by the English Baptist brethren, in the essayist's judgment, have proved by no means satisfactory. He could not accept the plea of poverty on the part of Bengali Christians, for in other sections of India where similar social conditions prevail, self-support is far more advanced. It is sometimes claimed that the salaries of pastors are higher than the people can afford, but men of character and efficiency are required, and these must have sufficient to maintain themselves and their families. The great hindrance, he thinks, is that the people fail to realise that the duty of sustaining the institutions and ordinances of the Gospel rests upon

them. Their idea is that the mission is beholden to them, under obligation to provide everything for them, while the true conception should be the reverse.

When we inquire as to how self-support and independence may be developed, an important consideration is the co-operation of the various societies, which too frequently overlap, so that in some places there are two, three, or four feeble struggling churches when there might be one strong self-sustaining church. Union of forces would help to solve the problem. The grant-in-aid system, annually reviewed so as to note progress, was advocated. Contributions in kind should be encouraged; also thank-offerings. In some places it would be helpful if churches had plots of land attached on which pastors could raise their own rice, etc., in cultivating which their people might help with labour. The practice in Calcutta of Bengali Christians of good position who do not identify themselves with Bengali churches, is a pernicious one and should be discouraged in all possible ways. In conclusion, it was suggested that the Conference appoint a special committee to take the whole subject into most careful consideration.

The discussion which followed was a most interesting one—painfully interesting in one point of view. Every missionary speaker took a gloomy view of the present spiritual condition of the Bengali Churches,—a view not demurred to by the Bengali brethren who spoke; and no one appeared to feel encouraged as to the prospects for improvement in this respect or regarding the attainment of self-support in the near future. The situation seems to be something akin to the military situation in South Africa prior to the arrival of Lord Roberts. Embarrassment, perplexity, inability to surmount the difficulties which present themselves prevail. Who will show the way out? As a lady missionary, whose words on this point we quoted last week, says: "We need a Moses to lead us out of the bondage of *parwarish* (dependence for support on others). . . . I myself feel that a crisis of some sort is impending, and that we greatly need wise generalship." Rev. A. Paton Begg, L. M. S., regretted the paper had not taken up the question of self-propagation. He was unable to see the great advantages to arise from securing independence of village churches. Better they should realise themselves a part of a greater and stronger whole. He recommended the deepening of spiritual life and the preaching of the more practical Christian duties.

The most notable contribution to the discussion was that furnished by the Rev. I. W. Charlton, of the Church Missionary

Society. He pointed out that one practical difficulty in the way of self-support is the universal indebtedness under which the village people groan. They are in bondage to the *máhájans,* and while these conditions prevail an aggressive church cannot be developed. Some practical method of delivering our Christian people out of the hands of the *máhájans* is a first necessity. Then, we should do our best to make the provision of pastors and other workers for our village Christians as inexpensive as possible. If Bengali Christians should be gotten out of debt and pastors become available whose salaries are not two or three times the average income of the people, independence would be in sight. The people strongly object to be obliged to educate their pastors' sons and dress their daughters. If some provision of scholarships for the children could be made, the question would be simplified. Much interest was awakened by Mr. Charlton's impressive appeal to the missionaries to aid in organising a united Bengali Church. Let all come together and prayerfully consider such a possibility. Laying aside all non-essentials, accepting as a foundation the few fundamental truths on which all are agreed, why should not there be one Bengali Church? It was pointed out that God has wonderfully kept the way open for such a consummation; for the native Christian families of Bengal have not crystallised into churches very readily. A father may be an agent of the Church of England, while the son is attending a Wesleyan day school, another member of the family being a Baptist Bible reader, and so on. If a united Bengali Church be only a dream, let us cease talking about it; but if it be a possibility it should be taken hold of with practical earnestness.

Mr. Kali Charan Banurji said he had no desire to extenuate any of the things laid at the door of the native Christians, nor to emphasise the responsibilities resting on missions and missionaries. He differed from the writer of the paper, believing that self-propagation must precede self-support. An individual must be a missionary before he is technically a minister. As a missionary he wins a soul, then he becomes a pastor to feed that soul. When our churches become self-propagating—winners of souls—they must feed and sustain these souls. In regard to support of pastors, the question is one of *men,* not of *money.* He had in thought a church which, if able to provide support for a pastor, absolutely had no man in view to call to the position.

Others who participated in the discussion were the Revs. W. R. James and A. Jewson, B. M. S., P. M. Mookerjee, S. P. G., and the writer. Mr. James thought the difficulty of getting

missionaries to come to a common understanding a serious one. We have begun by expecting too little of our Christians. All contributions from the Societies towards building, repairing, and maintenance of chapels should be stopped at once. Mr. Jewson expressed the conviction that a closer union between the Bengali Christians and Christ would powerfully tend to make self-support possible. Few Bengali Christians have any true knowledge of Christ, though they know about Him. Rejoicing in the exceptions, the majority of those who minister to Bengali Christians are simply imitators of missionaries, retailing the things they have heard them say. Missionaries' meagre vocabulary limits the scope of their teaching, hence the imitative teaching of native ministers is of an inadequate type. Mr. Mookerjee entreated the missionaries to make a beginning in the direction of a united Church. The native Churches as they are now, are what the missionaries have made them. "Take us as you find us. Make a beginning here in Calcutta. As the mission work has been a failure up to the present, let there be a new departure and see what it may do for the native Church." A speaker said that in view of what he had heard, the feeling came to him that it would be a blessing to the Church of Christ in Bengal if every foreign missionary were deported, and the Bengali Christians left to work out the problem of a standing or falling Church with such resources as they possess. It is an appalling state of things that at the close of a century of missionary labours the prospect for self-support and independence is so gloomy and unpromising.

It is to be regretted, we think, that the suggestion made by the reader of the paper was not adopted. The worthy chairman thought a good way to shelve further development of the agitation would be to appoint a committee. We find ourselves compelled to differ from him. A committee ought at once to take hold of this vital question in the interests of the Church that is to be, and see if there is not some practicable plan by which even an approximate solution of the problem may be arrived at. Is the state of things which now exists in Bengal to be perpetuated for another century? It will, unless some aggressive practical action is taken. It is a most humiliating position. The Evangelical Churches are compelled to admit that their earnest endeavours through, say, three generations, have ignominiously failed to establish anything that might with a semblance of truth be regarded as self-supporting work. The most depressing feature of the situation is that there is not the ghost of a remedy in actual sight. It would be profitable were missionaries to drop

all outside work for a season and give their undivided and best thought to this most important problem. We hope the Calcutta Missionary Conference will grapple with it in such a statesman-like way as to remedy the blunders of the past and save the Christian Church of Bengal from another century of tutelage and impotency.

This is doubtless a too discouraged view. It shows, however, that missionaries are their own most merciless critics, and it indicates the penalty that the future pays for any past failure to incorporate in the character of a native Church one of its fundamental and indispensable elements.

It is on the problem of self-government, which is the easiest problem of the three, and which, if the other two are solved, will entirely take care of itself, that attention is usually fixed. This has been because with our Western haste and passion for order and mechanism we have carried organisation ahead of life. Partly so, partly because we have often found the work hard and have been thrown back on siege methods and have had to wait longest for what we desired most. Also, the whisper of nationality, far away, has often in good providence breathed early in the hearts of the new Christians. The problem lies inevitably in the situation. Men of two nationalities, representing two Churches, one a foreign Church far away, the other the new native Church now at hand, are working together for certain ends. What are their ends? How are they to be related in their work for them?

Their great end, as we conceive it, is the evangelisation of the world, and with this and what is to flow from it in view, the establishment in all lands, and primarily in this particular land, of an independent national Church which will fulfil its own mission and destiny. And an independent national Church we hold to be one which is genuinely independent and national, which has no organic, ecclesiastical connection with any foreign Church, which is under no foreign bishop or Church council, which is as free and autonomous as the nation is or would be, and with a character and identity which lay it eye to eye, hand to hand, mouth to mouth, heart to heart, like the prophet,

upon the body of its people. Now, to that Church as our ideal, in its incipiency or in its advancing development, what is to be the relation of the foreign mission and its foreign agents?

First of all, the Western Churches at a distance and their representatives near at hand are to take up the most cordial and generous attitude toward the ideal of freedom and the measure of attainment which the native Church may have reached. Any coldness or sceptical criticism is disloyalty to the very aim of the foreign missionary enterprise. These Churches have a problem upon them of the most crushing gravity. They are seeking against the charge of unpatriotism and filial treason to make a home in their national life for the ideas which belong there and the power which alone can redeem, while these are the very things which are mistakenly regarded as alien and treasonable. The success with which they have met has been wonderful. It has been our own success. We should rejoice in it, and in every way in our power encourage these Churches to go on.

But the practical question remains. These Churches are definite organisations with an established jurisdiction. What relation shall missionaries have to them, and shall they have to the foreign missions? Three answers are given among Presbyterians:

(1) It is proposed that the missionaries should have a dual relationship, that they should remain the representatives of their home Churches and subject to their jurisdiction, while at the same time they should sit as full members of the native Church councils or as assessors with the right to vote, but independent of their jurisdiction save as to work done in the name of the native Church. This is the plan which has been adopted in the case of the English Presbyterian missionaries in China and the Scotch Presbyterian missionaries in India. It has been ruled that any such dual relationship is contrary to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; that a minister cannot be a member of two presbyteries, much less of two independent national Churches.

(2) It is proposed that the missionaries should withdraw from their home presbyteries or other courts and become mem-

bers exclusively of the native presbyteries or courts. This is what some of the American Presbyterian missionaries have done in China and India and other lands, where independent Churches have been established. It is what the Irish missionaries did in Manchuria. Dr. Ross tells us: "In connection with the establishment of the Presbytery, the Irish missionaries did a generous thing. Originally, they were ecclesiastically connected with the presbytery by which they had been ordained, though they had an organic connection with the General Assembly. As one man cannot properly be a member of two presbyteries, the Irish members proposed to sever their connection with the home presbytery, in order to be free to become members of the presbytery of Manchuria.

"At our first presbytery meeting it was resolved also that the native presbytery would have no control over the funds or the persons from abroad. Each society on the field would still continue to hold the same relations to the home Boards as formerly. But the native presbytery would have control of all funds contributed by the native Church, and of all other Church matters whatsoever appertaining to the Presbyterian Church of Manchuria. It would define the terms of admission into the Church, the causes and modes of discipline; it would take charge of the conduct of worship and the administration of all Church affairs. The presbytery is meantime the supreme court of the Church."—(Ross, "Mission Methods in Manchuria," p. 126 ff.)

(3) It is proposed that the missionaries should retain their ecclesiastical connection with the Churches which they represent, sitting, if desired, as corresponding members in the native Church councils, as they might do if visiting and working in any land, and giving all their aid and support to the native Church, but not taking up any organic ecclesiastical relationship to it.

Now, it has been argued with unquestionable validity that there are no proof texts in the Bible with which to support this third view. (Article quoted in *The Indian Witness,* December 12, 1907.) And we admit that the view that a missionary should never identify himself ecclesiastically with a native

Church cannot be set up as a fundamental principle. Whether he should do so or not depends upon what the effect of his course will be upon the realisation of the ideal of a truly independent national Church. We are disposed to believe, however, that that ideal and the distinction which certainly exists between such a Church and a foreign missionary agency can best be served by the missionary's retention of his home connection, by the preservation of the integrity of the native Church as a national organisation, and by separate but co-operative activity.

(1) If the confusion is once begun, it is difficult to keep it from being carried too far. Alexander Duff discovered this fifty years ago. Mr. Day tells us the story frankly in his account of his master. He says that he and his native associates saw no reason why, upon their ordination, they should not be made members of the mission Council, just as Dr. Duff and the other missionaries were members of the presbytery, that every ordained native was as much entitled to a seat in the mission as the ordained missionaries, and that the distinction between the European and the Indian was contrary not only to the principle of Presbyterian parity, but to the essence and spirit of Christianity itself.—(Day, "Recollections of Duff," pp. 210-216.) The position was strongly taken. If the ideal of a genuine native Church was to be given up, why not also the ideal of a genuine foreign mission? What is the use of preserving one if you abandon the other? One confusion may as well lead to the other. The confusion involves even more today, for the work of women in foreign missions has almost entirely grown up since that day, and that work needs to be administered, and for the most part is administered, as an integral part of the whole work of missions. Now, unless ecclesiastical ideas are radically changed, the women missionaries cannot become members of Church courts. But the obliterations of distinction between such courts and missions will leave women without that relationship to their own work and the other work of the mission as such, in its integrity, which capable women will more and more, and not less and less, regard as indispensable.

(2) A truly self-conscious national Church will not feel able to perpetuate the idea of a large voting membership subject to the jurisdiction of a foreign body. When the Synod of Central China was organised in Nanking in 1906 the Chinese resolutely refused to tolerate the plan. For foreigners to cease nominally to be foreigners and to become Chinese churchmen was an endurable conception, but not the anomalous arrangement of the possession of authority without submission to jurisdiction.

(3) If it is said that this arrangement has been accepted by some Chinese Church courts and has been welcomed by the Presbyterian Church in India, it may be replied that that is the sad element in the situation, that there are native Churches which do not desire independence, and which shrink from taking up their national destiny. They wish to have the connection either organic or actual with the Western Churches. The very evil of the plan is that it weakens their sense of responsibility. They do not take up their financial burden; it is easier to lay the problem upon the foreign Church. They do not deal with their distinctive duty and the racial difficulties which press upon them. Their mission is blurred over and indistinct.

(4) And even if the missionary wholly gives up his home connection and joins the native Church alone, has he really done so? Is he no more a foreigner? Does he rest down upon and derive from the native people and congregations who are the substance of the native Church? Is he part of the nationality which is to be expressed in the native Church and which is to grow out from it? Is he no more the representative and flesh and blood son of that other Church and that other nationality to which he looks as to race and home, to which he expects at least from time to time to return, and to report as to the errand with which that other Church and that other race charged him in their fulfilment of their missions? The editor of the *Indian Standard* observes: "The missionaries think that they have cut themselves off from the home Church and fully identified themselves with the Church in India, but of course they have really done nothing of the kind. They are

all under their respective mission boards, which are committees of the home Churches. The true presbytery knows nothing of a body of ministers from a foreign land, outnumbering the native ministry and independent of it, and yet dominating all presbyterial action by their vote, and the expedient of cutting the ecclesiastical tie with home does not solve the problem. . . . At present the missionaries are virtually in the position of the House of Lords, with this advantage, that they sit and vote in both houses." The native leaders are not slow to see that the missionary is not really subject to the native Church. When a missionary in Japan said that he regarded himself as under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Church, Mr. Uyemura replied: "The missionaries who have joined our presbyteries are in no true sense integral parts of the Japanese Church. They are members in name, but in fact they are under the control of an outside organisation."—(Quoted in BROWN, "The Foreign Missionary," pp. 314, 315.)

(5) Whatever our judgment as to method, however, the principle which we must keep clear and which must be served by whatever we do is the principle of a truly independent Church resting on the life of a people and leading their steps. What we do in the way of method and relationship is right or wrong as it advances or retards the triumph of that principle. How to decide what is right is one of the hardest problems in missionary administration. The Ethiopian movement in South Africa, which, as his biographer says, broke Coillard's heart, has been one of the most vivid recent illustrations of the difficulty. That movement has embraced many impulses and divergent motives, but its central principle was a desire for Church autonomy, combined with a desire for racial unity, a dim feeling after a national destiny on the part of a considerable number of the negroes of South Africa. "The Church Separatist or Ethiopian Movement," said the Native Affairs Commissioners in their first report, "has as its origin a desire on the part of a section of the Christianised natives to be freed from control by European Churches. Its ranks are recruited from every denomination carrying on extensive operations in South Africa,

and there is in each case little or no doctrinal divergence from the tenets of the parent Church, though it is alleged, and the Commission fears with truth, that relaxed strictness in the moral standard maintained frequently follows. It is the outcome of a desire on the part of the natives for ecclesiastical self-support and self-control, first taking tangible form in the secession of discontented and restless spirits from religious bodies under the supervision of European missionaries." The movement had "a great influence upon Dr. James Stewart's last years," Dr. Wells tells us. "It was one of the sorest disappointments of his life and yet it contributed to the fulfilment of one of his greatest dreams."—(WELLS, "Life of James Stewart," p. 287.) It wrought no end of harm as Dr. Stewart viewed its fruits, but it embodied his idea of a truly native Church, ruling itself. And it represented a great and noble craving. The second report of the Native Affairs Commissioners sets forth the facts dispassionately:

"The idea of secession," says Mr. Sargant in his report on native education, "is probably not due only, or primarily, to a wish on the part of the native leaders to manage their ecclesiastical affairs for themselves, but also to a real longing for national union through a single spiritual head of the Church." And he points out that, owing to the distinctions of tribe and language by which the natives are divided, it was natural that this national feeling should find its first expression through Christianity. Similar views are expressed by the Rev. F. B. Bridgman in a paper on the Ethiopian Movement read before the Missionary Conference in Natal. "The fact," he says, "that a great race, hitherto content to grovel, has at last begun to aspire is momentous." And the Coadjutor-Bishop of Cape Town, who, as chaplain to the Order of Ethiopia, had special opportunities for observing the inner working and spirit of the movement, declares emphatically that its "root-principle is, I believe, patriotism; in other words, the self-assertion of a growing national life." . . . "It is perhaps surprising that so able a body of men as the leading South Africa missionaries, with their long and intimate experience of native affairs, should in this

instance have failed so signally to read the signs of the times. Had they gauged the position more accurately, it is conceivable that they might have been able to direct the movement into safe channels, and to have diverted painful breaches between native Churches and their parent missions. But the workings of the native mind have often proved inscrutable to the white man."

Both the ideal and the abuse have their lesson for us, that we may walk wisely.

In Japan the question of relations between the missions and the native Churches is presented in a far more advanced stage. There are three large independent Churches—the Kumiai or Congregational, the Church of Christ or Presbyterian, and the Methodist. Each is ecclesiastically free. In the case of the Methodist Churches, the relation of the foreign missionaries is covered in the following addendum to the Basis of Union:

The relation of the Churches in the United States and in Canada to the Methodist Church of Japan shall be co-operative, and the appropriations made from time to time by the several missionary organisations for work in Japan shall be regarded as auxiliary to the work of the Methodist Church of Japan (Nippon Methodist Kyokwai), and be administered accordingly.

The supreme and only reason for the presence of Methodist missionaries in Japan is to aid in bringing Japan to Christ at the earliest possible day. In order to carry out this purpose, the Methodist Churches of the United States and of Canada must continue to bear their part of the burden which rests upon the Methodist Church of Japan, and continue to send foreign missionaries to Japan, under the three Boards of Missions taking part in this Union, in such numbers and for such periods as may by these Boards be deemed necessary for the accomplishment of the object above stated. These missionaries shall hold their Conference relation in their home conferences and shall be supported wholly by their respective Boards of Missions until recalled.

In recognition of this aid from the American Churches, and of his services to the Church in Japan, every such missionary shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Annual Conference to which his work for the preceding year has been related, except on questions in which the character or Conference relation of Japanese preachers is involved.

The Church of Christ, or Presbyterian Church in Japan, allows missionaries to become associate members of the presbyteries if they are members of missions recognised by the Synod as co-operating with the Church. Associate members do not have the power to vote. "A co-operating mission," by the definition of the Synod, "is one which recognises the right of the Church of Christ in Japan to the general care of all the evangelistic work done by the mission as a mission within the Church or in connection with it; and which carries on such work under an arrangement based upon the foregoing principle and concurred in by the Synod acting through the Board of Missions." This definition followed a statement of the ideals and desires of this Church, which it addressed to the missionary societies which had established it, as follows:

It is now more than thirty years since the Church was first founded, and already it has a history that may rightly be described as eventful. Among its ministers and private members there are many who are well deserving of respect. It extends from one end of Japan to the other, and carries on its work through a Synod, presbyteries, and congregations. It has a Board of Missions actively engaged in the work of evangelisation and the establishment of churches. Therefore, it seems to it reasonable to claim that it has a right to a voice in all work carried on within its organisation or closely connected with it. That is the principle for which the Synod stands; and for which it believes that Churches in other lands, under like circumstances, would stand.

The question of co-operation has agitated the Church and the missions from time to time for nearly fifteen years; and there are those who think the agitation uncalled for, since co-operation is already a matter of fact. Whether it is a matter of fact or not depends upon the sense in which the word co-operation is used. The fact that the missions employ evangelists, aid in the support of pastors, establish and maintain preaching places, while at the same time they also, in fact, practically retain such matters solely within their own control, does not in itself constitute co-operation; if by co-operation is meant a co-working which recognises the principle for which the Synod stands. Even though the work done extends the Church, the system as a system is that of an *imperium in imperio*.

The co-operation which the Church seeks is a co-operation of the missions as missions with the Church as a Church. The missions and the Church, acting as independent organisations, should make clear and definite arrangements with each other under the principle set forth; and the work of the missions as missions carried on within or in close connection with the organisation of the Church should be controlled by such arrangements. Co-operation should find a partial analogy in the alliance between England and Japan; not in the relations between Japan and Korea.

The Congregational churches have had a different problem because of their individualistic polity. The spirit of independence was naturally strong in them, and they have had for years no connection with the American Congregational churches, and now have taken over the care of every church which the missionaries were aiding, leaving the mission as an evangelistic agency free from every relationship to an organised congregation. What results may flow from the mission work the Church will absorb, but there is an absolute independence between the native Church and the foreign mission. It is even proposed by the *Kirisutokyo Sekai,* a Japanese Congregationalist paper, which seems to have hazy ideas of what a real self-supporting independence is, to dissolve the foreign mission altogether and absorb its members as individuals in the Japanese Church so long as they stay in Japan, their work as a mission, in its view, being now at an end. (Quoted in the *Japan Times,* June 28, 1908.)

We appeal next to the missionaries. In the first place that you would dissolve your mission church and join the Kumi-ai churches in those places where you severally reside. You have come here for the purpose of converting Japan, and there is no reason for not uniting with our churches. Then without hesitation become associate members of our Missionary Society, and take part in all its evangelistic work under the direction of the Society. Of course, as individual members and workers you would share with us appropriate duties and responsibilities, and stand in the same rank as we. Could we not then say for the first time that you were really promoting the conversion of Japan?

If we were to state our ideal it is this, that as there is neither male nor female in the Church, so there should be neither native

nor foreigner among Church workers, but those who have ability and aggressive power should be called to work in churches as pastors and evangelists, and in schools as teachers of theology and languages. Certainly the principles of finance should be followed and we should be satisfied with salaries fitting our labours and position. This emphatically would be to gain the respect and following of a foreign nation. But if this is mere talk and impossible of realisation at once, then at least let the missionaries take steps to dissolve their mission church and become members of our churches and Missionary Society. Then the American Board, whenever any important question like the sending out of new missionaries arises, would naturally consult with our Missionary Society.

We hear that since the war began some of the great commercial houses are deeply considering the future. Those houses that are doing a world business are wondering whether it is not best to abolish foreign management, and pass over the local branches to natives of the respective countries, retaining foreigners for duty simply in matters pertaining to their own country. Even for business houses this plan is no miscalculation, since it would be a gain for both sides. We are ashamed that this move did not originate in our religious world, but was first announced from the business world. As for immediate and decisive steps, rather than doing nothing, there are numerous things that were better done. We hope that the American Board will be the first of all foreign boards to have the honour of taking this decisive step. Foreign missions were originally undertaken in the hope that native Churches would attain to independence and self-support. Now the prayers of all earnest friends in the Lord are being answered, and the time is come for the Kumi-ai Church to proclaim an independence that agrees with facts. Will not the originators of this work rejoice in experiencing the meaning of the words: "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy is therefore fulfilled."

Here are three different stages to which the independence of a native Church has come. The problem will take on yet other phases in Japan, and new forms in every other land. But blessed is the day when it arises, even if cloaked with difficulty. Doubly blessed is the mission policy which prepares for it from the outset and lays a way of peace for its coming.

But, it may be asked, how is the way of peace to be laid? I do not think that any one answer can be given. The foreign missions represent many nationalities and Church polities, they are carried on among people of varying resistance and responsiveness and capacity. Individual missionaries are of widely differing temperaments and characteristics, and their modes of largest influence are dissimilar. No one prescription can be laid down covering all situations. How soon and in what manner the native Church is to be organised, what measure of authority it derives from those who organize it, and what measure it owes to no body of men, what help it shall receive, and in what form—these are practical questions which to many missionaries will appear more important than the reiteration of a general ideal which they have always held. But they are questions which must be answered in the light of the varying elements which enter into them in a score of divergent situations, and we shall have done enough now if we have come to see more clearly and to accept more unreservedly the ideal of self-government for the Church in as full a measure as possible from the beginning and in complete measure as soon as possible. Whatever plans we do adopt will be determined by the heartiness and confidence with which we hold to this ideal.

We must go on now to suggest that there are other regards than these three of the self-propagation, self-support, and self-government of the native Church, in which foreign missions must give heed to the ideal which they set before the Church and the form and principles which they give to it in its infancy. Both the spiritual character and the practical methods of the native Churches will be determined for years by the missions which found them. The manners of their clergy, down to their style of dress, their modes of worship, their forms of church architecture, their attitude toward their former religions and the customs of their people, their standard of moral and religious character will all be learned from their missionary teachers. In many mission fields they have already been learned, and the whole problem of missions has become complicated

with things that must be laid aside, lessons taught within the Church which must be unlearned.

Two of these points are of such importance as to demand special notice. One is the matter of the standard of Church membership and discipline. In some cases native Churches have raised the standard which they were given and become more exacting; in others they have lowered their tone. They are dealing with their own responsibilities. But at the outset, and for a long time, the influence of the missions will set the standard. What shall it be, easy-going and tolerant or high and exacting? Shall baptism be the mark merely of separation from the old heathenism or of a living entrance into Christ? On the one hand, we have to remember that, while there are inward spiritual revolutions and rebirths, they are often as silent and secret in grace as in nature, and that the processes of God and the soul are orderly and slow. We are dealing in many cases with men of insight and spiritual desire, and in some lands with earnest people, but for the most part with masses of men with whom patient methods are required. Dr. Lawrence, after his wise studies on the ground, thought he knew of nothing wiser than Bishop Caldwell's words:

> I cannot imagine any person who has lived and worked amongst uneducated heathens in the rural districts believing them to be influenced by high motives in anything they do. They have never heard of such things as high motives, and they cannot for a long time be made to comprehend what high motives mean. An enquiry into their motives, with a view to ascertaining whether they are spiritual or not, will seem to them like an enquiry into their acquaintance with Greek or algebra. They will learn what good motives mean, I trust, in time—and, perhaps, high motives, too—if they remain long enough under Christian teaching and discipline; but till they discard heathenism, with its debasing idolatries and superstitions, and place themselves under the wings of the Church, there is not the slightest chance, as it appears to me, of their motives becoming better than they are. . . . The only hope for them lies in their admission as soon as possible into Christ's school. . . . Whatever the motive, provided it is not sordid or disgraceful, we receive them.—(LAWRENCE, "Modern Missions in the East," p. 236.)

We need to remember this on the one hand. On the other, we need to recollect that it was the austerity of its moral requirements and the reality of its spiritual energy which gave the early Church its victory. If the native Churches are to subdue their world as the early Church subdued its world, it can only be by virtue of their indisputable and commanding moral superiority, sustained and invigorated by an inner life. In India, for example, Sir William Hunter would have the Christian Church as clean of the drink habit at least as Islam. "I for one," said he in an address at the Society of Arts in London, "believe that if Christianity is to be an unmixed blessing in India, it must be Christianity on the basis of total abstinence." "We cannot help thinking," says the leading paper of North India, notoriously unfriendly to the missionary, but giving him good counsel, "that the duty of the foreign missionaries who have been the means of introducing Christianity into India, and who are still its recognised leaders, is to give the highest and best presentation of religion, and not to yield to any passing temptation to lower the standard of faith and practice."—(*The Pioneer,* Editorial, "Missions Up-to-date," April 23, 1908.)

One of our American missionary societies made an attempt some years ago to state the sound principle on the subject of the standard of admission and of discipline in these terms:

Recognising that Christian character is a growth, and that the facts of Scripture and of life teach that patience and education are necessary to the development of high moral standards and the realisation of these standards in conduct, it is believed that it is unprofitable to expect the fruits of eighteen centuries of Christian culture to be reproduced in a generation on the mission field, and unjust to demand them as conditions of admission to the Church. At the same time, the vital importance of establishing from the outset right ideals in the native Churches must be recognised, and the weight of judgment should be given in support of those missionaries who contend for a relatively high standard of admission and discipline as essential to the strength and purity of the native Church. It is not regarded as permissible, for example, that polygamists should be admitted

to the Lord's Supper, or the establishment of distinctions between baptism and the Lord's Supper, which render the former only an introductory and inconclusive ordinance, open to those who are merely catechumens. Thorough instruction of enquirers before baptism, and the inculcation of high moral obligations, should be provided for. On the other hand, regard should be had to the antecedents and environment of the people, and emphasis should be laid not so much upon extended knowledge or even conformity to set requirements, as upon earnestness, genuine faith, and that sincere acceptance of Christ which will issue in true living.

There are some who take exception to this unyielding judgment regarding the exclusion of polygamy from the native Church, holding that, while polygamy is of course wrong, we have no right to exclude a polygamist who is truly converted but who contracted his polygamous relations in the days of his ignorance. With regard to this view held by many great missionaries, we suggest: (1) That that which would be made the ground of expulsion if in the Church, should constitute a barrier to admission to the Church; (2) that it is not Church membership or any Christian requirement which makes polygamy wrong, but a law of nature, and that ignorance or mere compliance with usage offered as an excuse for the contraction of polygamy cannot warrant its admission to the Church; (3) that the only way to keep polygamy out of the Church where it is acknowledged that it ought not to be is to exclude or expel those guilty of it; (4) that the requirement that a polygamist should live in marital relation with only one wife is not a requirement that he should cease to support the others; on the other hand, he should be required to do so; (5) that there is no Scriptural or rational ground for admitting a man to the Church and then excluding him from office, as some propose, on the ground of his marital relation; (6) that the allegation that such a course is recognised in the Epistle to Timothy in I Tim. iii: 2, which specifies that a bishop must be the husband of one wife, thereby implying that there were ordinary members who had more than one wife, can only be defended by acknowledging that the statement regarding widows in I Tim.

v:9, 10, namely, that each should have been the wife of one husband, proves that there was polyandry also in the early Church; (7) that the purity of the home is an essential not to be imperilled by any concession or in any way whatsoever; (8) that to admit polygamy into the Church defiles the ideal of the Church as described by Paul in the noble passage in the fifth chapter of Ephesians, and cuts at the foundation of Christian morals and the Christian revelation; (9) that it weakens the testimony of Christianity to righteousness; (10) that polygamous wives have no right to continue marital relations which can be defended without dissolving the foundation of purity; and (11) that it does not affect the case to say that there will be but a few exceptional instances of such baptisms. It is a question not of few or of many, but of essential moral principles.

This illustration of the problem of the standard of Christian morals to be set by the missions suggests the other point to which attention was to be drawn, namely, the attitude which foreign missions should set before the native Churches toward questionable social conditions involving religious principles, such as ancestor worship in China and caste in India. The missionaries and native Churches in China are practically unanimous in their judgment that ancestor worship contains inadmissible idolatrous elements, and they have agreed with small dissension upon a common attitude toward it. Over caste, however, there is a great conflict of view. It is evident that it is to be a far more massive barrier in the way of Christianity than ancestor worship. Some Chinese seem only too likely to abandon what was really good in ancestor worship with its foolish idolatrous elements, while others are perceiving that the Christian spirit of reverence for the dead includes all that was worthy in their traditional idea. But in spite of all that has been done to dissolve the exclusiveness of caste in India, it remains still the most deep-seated institution in the land, so deep-seated and irrefragable that many urge the abandonment of the attitude of absolute hostility to it taken up by the foreign mission movement, or the transfer of our missionary energies from the assault on the caste-intrenched people to the unhindered evangelisation

of the low-caste and outcaste peoples. The Bishop of Madras has stirred up a still lively controversy (See *The Baptist Missionary Review,* Bopatla, India, December, 1907) by arguing that our work for the high-caste people, especially through our colleges, has been practically fruitless, while low-caste evangelisation has met with immense success, and that this is evidence not only of the direction which the providence of God would have our missionary activities take, but also of the quickest method of reaching the high-caste people themselves, who see already the advancement of the classes they had despised through the uplifting influence of Christianity, and who will be forced to consider the claims of a religion whose power they behold and through which alone they can hope to escape being outdistanced. Many have come forward to argue against Bishop Whitehead's propositions, and the result of his declarations will be sure to be more work and better work for both high-caste and outcaste peoples. On the other hand, Mr. Bernard Lucas of the London Missionary Society, in "The Empire of Christ," has argued for a different attitude toward the caste spirit. It is not entirely clear to us just what Mr. Lucas would have us do. With his principle, "There should be no baptism outside of the Church, there should be no caste within the Church," we heartily agree, but this seems, in his view, to involve keeping all high-caste converts out of the Church and meanwhile making no vigorous effort to dissolve their caste narrowness, but waiting until Hindu society is prepared to come over bodily into Christianity. It is not souls out of the ship of India, to quote again his figure, whom we are to bring in, but the whole ship. How are we to do it? Meanwhile, is the Church to be made up of low-castes and of those from the high-castes who have naturally of themselves given up their caste separation and come into that body where there is neither low-caste nor high-caste, but where all are one in the unity of their Saviour? It is clear, however, that Mr. Lucas would not have caste in the Church. He would have foreign missions set that attitude for the native organisation. In that view he would disagree with an Indian writer, Lall Bihary Dass in *The Epiphany,* the organ of the Oxford Mission

in Calcutta (January 16, 1909), who holds that caste should be taken into the Church and dissolved in time within, as was the case with slavery. "In a caste-ridden country like India," says Mr. Dass, "where caste is all in all, you cannot root out in one day what the ages have done, so it will augur well if this theoretical system be kept up and at the same time they be made Christians, and if caste itself is an evil, it will gradually melt away like snow before the noonday sun, when the true light of the Sun of Righteousness will commence to shine forth in their hearts." The foreign mission enterprise in setting standards for the Churches which it creates, cannot accept this view any more than it could provide for the admission of polygamy and slavery, of concubinage and idolatry, in the hope that these would in time disappear. Christianity means something moral and social. It is a religion which embodies ideals, and the Church is the institution which expresses those ideals.

At the same time, there are discriminations to be made in the case of what is called caste, just as in the case of ancestor worship, which embodied one of the noblest of human sentiments. The former Bishop of Bombay, Dr. Mylne, has suggested these: "When I maintain that caste must go, that to make terms with it is to break once for all with the practical Gospel of Christ, I am not to be taken for a moment as intending that the educated Brahman, with his social refinement, is to be treated as a traitor to Christianity, if he determines to marry his children to no one whose social position would render their happiness impossible." And in his review of Dr. Mylne's "Missions to Hindus," Mr. Lucas has pointed out that more such discriminations must be drawn:

> Between the caste spirit and the spirit of Christ there is an irreconcilable opposition, whether that caste spirit is manifested in the caste system of India or in the social distinctions of the West. But just as there are social distinctions in the West, which have nothing to do with a caste spirit, so there are social distinctions and social habits in India which, though connected with the caste system, are not bound up with the caste spirit. While it is quite true that caste is religious as well as social,

it must be borne in mind that the India of to-day is by no means the India of a hundred years ago. In no respect has India changed more during the past century than in the position which caste occupies in the thought of the Hindu of to-day, as compared with that of his forebears of a century ago. There has been a divorce going on between caste and religion, which the missionary of the twentieth century will do well to recognise. Amongst the educated Hindus it is hardly too much to say that the religious aspect of caste has largely ceased to be operative. While the same cannot be said of those uninfluenced by English education, yet in many parts of India the bond between religion and caste has been very greatly loosened, and while caste is still jealously guarded, it is far more as a social than as a religious system. These changes make it imperative for us to change our attitude towards the question of caste, and distinguish between the real caste spirit with which we can make no terms and the social habits and customs which are merely a stage in social development. Already there are signs that the time is coming when the acceptance of Christianity will not involve that breach with the past which hitherto has been inevitable.

With such a problem a truly independent national Church would be far more competent to deal than a foreign mission, and it is a pity that there is not such a Church in India to settle it for itself, but what India lacks we still lack ourselves, both in America and Great Britain, and in all the lands from which the missionaries go forth.

This question of caste, however, is only part of a larger problem, namely, the establishment of the foundations of the new Churches solidly and broadly on the life of the people. Missionaries begin where they can, knowing that all souls are Christ's. Sometimes they reach first the ignorant and poor; and the work of the new Church is taken up by those who are not the natural leaders of life. Often out of these classes the real national leaders come, and God demonstrates again His power to use the weak to confound the mighty. But often the native Church, built thus on one class, never works out from it but remains a small and unrepresentative society, separated from the life it is meant to mould. Such are still the churches built on the old negro communities in Bahia and Pernambuco

in Brazil. On the other hand, the foundation of a new Church may be laid in a higher class, with results not less marked. As a keen observer of mission work writes from Japan: "If you look for the source of the financial weakness and the unsatisfactory history of the Church in Japan in regard to relations with the missionary body, you will find that one fact explains both. It has been the poor but proud Samurai who have filled the churches and the ministry. They have been to us a strength and a weakness, our pride and our torment. The Heimin, or plebeian poplation, have been too ignorant and superstitious, too much under the domination of their Buddhist priests and their Shinto schoolmasters, to open the ear to the Word. But we are at last getting at the Heimin, and there are better days ahead. We shall never have substantial, steady churches till they are made up less of Samurai officials, army and navy men, teachers, and students, and more of plain farmers, business men, and workmen." The broader the foundation of the new Churches, the more representative their membership, the more truly will they embody the ideal seen in the churches which St. Paul founded, which did indeed rest upon the common life of men, but also knew no inaccessible class and claimed all society as the sphere and instrument of the Church's mission.

There are doubtless some, however, to whom the breadth of the foundation of the native Churches will seem of less importance than its depth, who will be less concerned that these foundations should be laid out widely upon life than that wherever they are laid they should be laid with precision and exactness. They are so firmly convinced, in other words, of the universal warrant and validity of some of these convictions which they themselves hold, that they cannot believe that any foundations are rightly laid that are not laid in these convictions. Now, all of us belong to this class in things that really are universal in Christianity. That is why the foreign mission movement exists. To lead men to the living and true God by the way of His only Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and by Whom alone men can find the Father—that is the sole spring and power of the missionary

enterprise. In the faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Saviour of the World, we find all our own life, and deep therein we believe it to be indispensable above all things else to lay the foundation of the new Churches. But we are not of those who believe, as some do, that any particular ecclesiastical polity or historic statement of Christian doctrine should be laid down bodily upon the native Churches. In an older day, a notable letter of counsel to its foreign missionaries from one of our great Churches contained the admonition: "Be careful to *maintain in all your missions the worship and order, as well as the doctrine of your own Church.* We have no desire either to cherish ourselves or to recommend to you a sectarian spirit. But we cannot think that a warm attachment to our own beloved Church, and a decided preference of its rites and polity, deserve to be so styled. As long as we believe them to be founded on the Word of God, we must consider an adherence to them as our incumbent duty. And as you are the representatives among the heathen of the Church of your choice, we trust you will faithfully maintain all its claims and usages." And within the last two years an earnest missionary bishop in another great Christian Church declared: "The one grand object, of course, which every evangelist must pursue, is the development of an indigenous Church, which shall work upon lines of its own, taking nothing from European Christianity but the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the historic Orders of the Ministry."—(MYLNE, "Missions to Hindus," p. 130.) I do not wonder that an equally earnest missionary has been stirred to reply: "One may ask, with some amount of wonder, what there would be left to take from European Christianity after you have taken the Creeds, which represent its theology; the Sacraments, which stand for its conception of ritual, and the Orders of the Ministry, which, presumably, represent its ecclesiastical organisation? If all these are to be imposed bodily upon the Indian Church, one wonders upon what 'lines of its own' the indigenous Church is going to work. The author seems to join us in this wonder, for he immediately adds: 'The goal may lie centuries in front of us. At present it is

not in sight, even dimly descried on the horizon.' As long as Christianity is identified, as our author seems to identify it, with Western theology, Western ritual, and Western ecclesiasticism, so long will the Christianisation of India be delayed, and the Indian Church remain an exotic, instead of becoming indigenous. We have so guarded against producing an Indian Christian heretic, that we have equally failed to produce a theologian."—(BERNARD LUCAS in the *Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society, July, 1908, p. 130.) Our Western ecclesiastical polities are not universal or final. Each of them grounds itself upon Scripture, but they are mutually contradictory. Our Western theological statements are not universal or final. How can they be? They were not divinely inspired. They are the products of only a small part of mankind, the outgrowth of a small fraction of the experience of humanity, a mere fragment of the still incompleted education of mankind by God. The men who go out as foreign missionaries can go, of course, only as the men they are, believing what they believe, and if they believe that the presiding eldership or supralapsarianism or immersion or baptismal regeneration is fundamental and universal, they will teach it, and we shall have to work out from the consequences as best we can. But we believe nothing of the sort, nor that episcopate or presbytery, nor Calvinism or Arminianism, nor anything else of polity or of creed, but simply that the fact that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is come the Saviour of the whole world, is the fundamental and universal thing, the rock on which to build the new Churches of the nations. We must doubtless help and guide these Churches, and those who do it will do it in the way in which alone they conscientiously can, but a true foreign mission policy will make room for a free life in the native Churches, and will rejoice in their adaptation of means to meet their own needs in organisation and in their guidance by the Spirit of God into new constructions and fresh emphasis of the enduring truth of God, too rich and infinite to have been codified by any one man, or one race, or one age. Surely we can say this with no want of love or loyalty to the Church in which we grew up and through which we do our work. We are not less true

to her and her vision of truth when we declare these to be but a part of a nobler whole, and when we watch and wait with longing desire for the completion of the whole body, absorbing ours in its fulness, and the gathering of the fuller light, eclipsing ours in its brightness.

At the same time, it must be said that as yet the native Churches, even the strongest and most independent, have produced nothing notable either in the way of Church organisation or in the way of perception or statement of truth. Dr. Datta has told us the reason, in the case of India:

> The Indian Church has failed on the whole to produce a distinctive theology capable of reaching the minds and hearts of the people. The religious history of India would lead us to look for something of this kind. Yet the nearest approach to a distinctively Indian interpretation of Christ has come from a non-Christian sect, the Brahmo Samaj. The cause is not far to seek. Indian Christianity is as yet a Western product in the process of being grafted on to India. The children of converts know little of, and care less for, the whole heritage of Indian thought and religion. They are brought up with a stock of Christian ideas in a society of their own. The conversion of their parents has severed all the old relationships. Another consideration which throws light on this barrenness of the Indian Christian religious mind is the fact that up to the present the members of the Church have been drawn from castes which do not afford a soil in which theological ideas naturally spring up and come to harvest. There have been Christians like K. M. Banerji and Nehemiah Goreh, but the converts from the castes which show special philosophical aptitudes are few and insufficient to form an intellectual society in which there can be a free interchange of ideas. New interpretations of Christian doctrine will scarcely be possible till the intellectual level of the Indian Church is raised either by greater accessions from the Brahman class, or by an extraordinary development of the mind of the outcaste people who form the bulk of the Christian community.—(DATTA, "The Desire of India," p. 255.)

The foundations of the native Church are neither sufficiently deep nor sufficiently broad. But even if they were, as they are becoming in Japan, we must beware of cherishing too great ex-

pectations. Some have been bold to hope for far more than there is any prospect of receiving. Truth grows out of life. It is the character of God unfolding itself to men and races as they live up into God. It is not a thing which men or Churches can find by saying: "Go to, now, watch me discover new truth." The pride of nationalism, which is the near peril of independent native Churches, is a sure prevention of great spiritual discovery. But in all our relations to the new Churches we should be zealous to guard their liberty and should not postpone the day of their own independent guidance by the divine Spirit by loading them with the symbols, whether of worship or of organisation or of doctrine, which have grown up in our long racial development in the West.

On the other hand, it may be justly argued, and the truth must be taken up into our views, that the new Churches are entitled to start where we have come and not where we began, that there is no reason why they should go back to the first century to repeat for themselves the long history which has produced us. The truth here is the obvious truth that we should do our best and act with all the wisdom which this history has taught us in dealing with them. The error lies in forgetting that much of this history has been bitter and destructive, and that we are only now returning to those fundamental principles of the Lord and His Apostles, from which the centuries have led us so far away.

Two further aspects of the problem of the relation of missions to the native Churches are brought before us in the words quoted a moment ago from Dr. Datta. He is speaking of India. It is in India that the difficulty of the work of raising up a truly independent Church seems to be greatest. It is the oldest field, and there are more native Christians there than in any other mission land, but the Church is still a foreign organisation on Indian soil. There are self-supporting congregations. There are able Indian ministers. There is now a new and hopeful National Missionary Society, but even this was a foreign idea and largely inspired and initiated by foreign energy. There seems to be wanting the spirit of a brave and sacrificial nationalism, such as

led Paul Sawayama to starve himself in the Naniwa church in Osaka and is already moving in what is to be the mighty Christian Church in China. This may be due in part to the chill of caste, in part to the placidity of the national character. Partly, I think, it is due, and the fact shows how varying are the conditions in which the missionary problem must be wrought out, to the effect of the political situation. The goal of Indian ambition has been service under a foreign Government ruling the political life of India. The analogy of service under a foreign Church ruling the religious life of India has been too natural to resist, or even to be conscious of its needing resistance. The conditions have been precisely the reverse of those in Japan. The problems of missionary policy are entwined with the deepest issues of national life and are rendered vastly more difficult thereby. If a native Church leads in a nationalistic movement, it is exposed to the peril of political confusion and entanglement, the danger of disloyalty in India, of chauvinism in Japan. If it does not lead, it is distrusted for unpatriotism and discredited as the motive power of national life. The American Churches confronted in the days of the Revolutionary War a situation reproduced in its essential principles to-day in many Asiatic lands.

Dr. Datta's words suggest not only the diversity of conditions on the mission fields, but also the problem of the relation of missions to the education of the second generation of the native Church. It is from that generation that the capable and effective leaders come. It is there, also, that the most bitter disappointments are met. In many mission schools it is this class which presents the chief difficulty, more than boys from the homes of the old religions. In many stations it is they who paralyse the Church and nullify the apologetic value of its life and example. Of such a generation the Report of the Basle Mission in Western India, for the year 1890, speaks: "Most of these [Christians] have not tasted the thralldom of idolatry and the enmity of the world, but have enjoyed all the privileges conferred upon them through the medium of Church and school. They feel their present elevated position; their energies, however,

have not as yet found their proper channels. Many, especially of those who till now have not experienced what a new birth is, in their desire to improve their circumstances are impatient that things develop so slowly and not in the very way they wish, and are often apt to suspect the very missionaries to whose instrumentality most of them owe their prosperity, and who leave untried no means or way to push them on, as if it were they who were keeping them down and hindering their progress."—(Quoted by Cust, "Missionary Methods," p. 23.) The report is speaking of native Christians maintained by missionary industrial institutions. The risk of fostering the spirit of complaining dependence in such work is its great danger. But the second generation is always a peril because it is also a hope. What may be so much better may be also so much worse. If, in the new Christian homes the Christian atmosphere has not really permeated all the life now emptied of its old sanctions and motives, if the boy grows up with no God, either false or true, really sobering his life and holding it in awe, if he learns contempt for superstition without having come to faith, his latter state is worse than his father's first. The mission, in seeking to produce a true and abiding Church, will remember that the second generation is as important as the first. That is one reason why missions are not content to see a number of people converted and then pass on. That is the end of only the first stage of their work. There is now a second stage, and beyond that there is a third.

In the education of the second generation one of the most foolish, and yet one of the most natural things to do, is to bring choice young men to the Western countries for their training. That is, it is natural when the aim of the enterprise is forgotten and the laws of human nature and leadership are unknown. It seemed at the first to many friends of missions that the best thing that could be done would be to establish training schools for natives in the home lands. They tried it. One of the despairs of missionary organisation now is that they cannot persuade well-meaning individuals to accept the results of the bitter experience of a hundred years. The Moravians

were among the first to come to wisdom in the matter. "We disapprove of bringing converts to Europe on any pretext whatever," they say in their instructions, "and think it would lead them into danger of injury to their own souls." Hundreds, probably thousands of young men and women have been harmed and spoiled for all useful service in this way. Instead of being prepared for true work as members and leaders of their own people, they have gone back separated from them, with unnatural tastes and ambitions, representing, or desiring to represent something foreign, obstructing, and in some fields, practically destroying the hope of establishing a free and living Church. There have been exceptions, many especially among the Chinese and Japanese who have studied abroad, but the sending forth of such men should be by the missions or Churches on the foreign field. When they come otherwise, the greatest kindness that can be shown is to let them save their character by complete self-support. The man who can do this may go back to be a true power among his people, and by the character which he has achieved for himself help his race to a full realisation of its character.

I said that after the second stage of relations between missions and native Churches, the long stage between the first organisation of the Church and its achievement of a free and competent independence, there was a third. We have not reached that stage yet, when the actual co-operation of the foreign missions is no longer needed, and when any help to be rendered by the foreign Church may be given, if it is needed at all, outright and direct. Even when that time comes, as some Japanese mistakenly think that it has come in their country, there may still be for some time a work for the selected missionary to do, very delicate and difficult, but valuable. Mr. Ebina, a very "advanced" leader of the Japanese Congregational Church, last year addressed a statement to the foreign missionaries in Japan in which he set forth services which he believed they were still needed to render, and there are others:

The mission of the missionary is not merely to propagate ideas. With his own character he must seek to influence the

character of others. We must pay the profoundest respect to the character of England and America, which has been nurtured now for over a thousand years. Without doubt there are among them contemptible men, but when we speak of them as a whole, it is not too great praise to say that they excel, not by a day nor a year, but by a hundred years. And foreign missionaries are their representatives. For example, let us compare the attitude of some of our young evangelists with that of the young foreign missionaries. The former, after their studies in Tokyo, go out into the country to preach, but after two or three years they grow pessimistic, disheartened, give vent to dissatisfaction and complaints, cannot endure their calling. The latter exhibit endurance, determination, boldness, and humility. Without freedom in the use of the language, in the midst of an imperfect social organisation, compelled to listen to most discordant music, living among the Japanese with their utterly different customs, these men deserve our admiration. The two are simply not to be compared.

Nay, more. The Japanese are far from attaining to the indomitable perseverance of the men who have gone with their Gospel to such places as Africa, the South Sea Islands, and central China. It is, of course, true that there are defects among the Christians of England and America, but as gentlemen and as ladies they conduct themselves as if they had received the baptism of Bushido. Now, you missionaries are the representatives of these men and women. Therefore, as elder brothers, it is your duty to give to the Japanese the refining influence of this pure and lofty character. To be a genuine Christian gentleman is the highest thing that a Japanese can learn. We must hope that you will take a more positive attitude toward the Japanese. Because of your deep reserve, you have suffered to go unsaid many things that you wished to say. As far as you were concerned, this was unavoidable, but your beloved younger brethren need your reproof whenever occasion offers. Even though you should be disliked and hated for it, in the name of Christ you should have all boldness. When viewed from the Christian standpoint, the Japanese character, down to the very words they use, needs no little reform. There certainly must be many things that meet your eyes and ears which as Christians cause you pain. We trust that on these points you will not hesitate to wield the lash. We know of your efforts to make apologies for the Japanese before Westerners, and we are deeply grateful therefor; but we cannot help hoping that for the benefit of the Japanese themselves you will

point out their faults without reserve, and try to improve them.

We must perfect ourselves by means of the religious consciousness of Germany, England, and America. Christianity, except that of these three countries, we cannot regard very highly. Nor do we think that we should abandon our Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, or set aside our Bushido to embrace such a faith. The Christianity of the Protestant nations alone has value for the whole world. This Protestant religious consciousness may in a certain sense be said to be of greater importance than the Scripture. The Old Testament has value only as this consciousness reveals in it a new meaning. And the true value of even the new Testament can be revealed only as one possesses this consciousness and experience. It goes without saying that, if this living consciousness and experience are wanting, Old and New Testament alike cannot reveal this wonderful glory. Our revered and beloved foreign missionaries are the living representatives of this lofty religious consciousness and experience. We Japanese even now demand just this thing. Whether the nation shall have a vigorous and well rounded development or not depends on whether or not we assimilate this consciousness and experience.

Such being the case, is not your mission in Japan perfectly clear? The purpose of your preaching is not to save men from Hell; there is no need for that sort of preaching in Japan. The Japanese have set their faces toward Heaven and are making progress in that direction. If the old methods of missionary work are to be continued, your mission is surely ended. But if you will share with other men and with another people your own experience and the religious consciousness of your nations, and if the burden of your message is the common enjoyment of the blessings of the kingdom of Heaven, your mission in Japan is manifest. It is your unique duty to share with the men of Japan the basic religious consciousness of the Protestant nations. Was it not for just such work as this that Christ died upon the cross? The religious consciousness of the Japanese possesses a certain excellence of its own, but I need not say how immature it is. You, with your strong, clear, ethical consciousness, and your kindly, peaceful, loving sensibilities, have you not a motive that ought to call forth faith from us men of Japan? If you are conscious of this, then your mission is as clear as the day.—(DANJO EBINA, on "The Mission of the Foreign Missionaries in Japan," in the *Shinjin,* translated in the Japan *Weekly Mail,* March 27, 1909.)

For how long a time in the great mission fields of the world the foreign missionary enterprise has a work to do we cannot say. Everything can be predicted but the unfolding of life, and it is with life that we are dealing. But the goal will be the more quickly and surely reached if we see clearly three things: first, the great principle on which we are working; second, the great need that must be supplied; and third, the great difficulty which we meet.

The great principle we have already defined. It is the establishment of true national Churches. There may be some who feel that the ideal of the unity of humanity requires something more than this. "A theological ideal which I believe should determine in a measure the ecclesiastical principle in mission work is that of the Church Catholic," writes a thoughtful missionary. "This involves, I take it, not only the unity of all Christians in any given land, but also unity of all Christians in all lands. The conception of as many independent Churches as there are countries or nations needs the complemental idea that all members are one body, permanently united in service and in life." It is indisputably so. But the unity of the body is the unity of many diverse members. The unity of the family is the unity of its separate individuals, and the richness and power of the family life depend on the perfection of individualism in its members. The unity of humanity requires the free development of all those members of humanity whose perfection of separate service is to make possible the perfect character and service of the whole. And those members of humanity are the nations and the Churches each within its nation. The nation is as divine an institution as either the family or the Church, and is to have its own religious life uttered and inspired by the Church. The late Bishop Whipple, presiding bishop of the American Episcopal Church, set forth our principle in his autobiography:

I believe that national Churches are the normal law of Church extension, and that in the past, centralisation of authority beyond national bounds has been full of mischief and has brought sorrow to the Church. In my sermon before the Lambeth Con-

ference of 1888, I said: "We meet as representatives of national Churches, each with its own peculiar responsibilities to God for the souls entrusted to its care, each with all the rights of a national Church to adapt itself to the varying conditions of human society, and each bound to preserve the order, the faith, the sacraments, and the worship of the Catholic Church for which it is a trustee."

In these words I voiced the sentiment of our late primate, Bishop Williams, who wrote me before my departure for the Lambeth Conference, expressing the hope that in all our deliberations nothing would be done to affect the prerogatives of national Churches, affirming that in the past the greatest evils which have come to the Church have come through usurpation of the rights of national Churches, and that it was more important that we should maintain our primitive and apostolic position because the Church of England was allied to the State. . . .

Each national Church has its own particular difficulties growing out of the sad divisions among Christian men, and under God it alone can solve these difficulties and heal these divisions. There is danger that this work may be hindered, if not prevented, by any appearance of the intervention of a foreign Church against which unjust prejudices might be aroused.

There is, thank God, a growing recognition among all English-speaking Christians that they have a common mission in evangelising the world. But until the race of jingoes shall have perished from the earth, I believe that an intervention of one national Church in the affairs of another will certainly bring sorrow.—(WHIPPLE, "Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate," pp. 459-463.)

This is the ideal that we seek, the ideal of free national Churches, through which alone a universal Church, rich with all the varied treasure of humanity, can be realised.

The great need is for leadership, not primarily missionary leadership, though the missionaries themselves meeting these great problems face to face are ever seeking for this, but the leadership of strong native men who, knowing their own people, resting upon them, holding them fast, will accomplish among them that of which the missions have dreamed and for which they have toiled.

And the great difficulty is not in the policy of the missions, nor in the ideals of the missionaries. It is in human nature. Men respond slowly to God. They were made for Him, and the deep hunger is there, but they will not come. The ideal of perfecting the spiritual character of a race, of realising the dream of a united humanity—none other can compare with it, but there are nearer interests—daily bread and games, and war and trade, and the roar of the whole great world overwhelms the whisper of its soul. The new Churches are made up of common human beings like ourselves, but without our Christian inheritance. Their leaders are men of their own ranks. Where are there any others? Some of them are good and thoughtful men, who share our ideals and are earnestly working to make them real. Some of them are eager to reach the end without travelling over the intervening road. They want self-government when there is as yet nothing to govern. Their thoughts are of places rather than of service. We are told of the "one Christian Gautama (who) sitting under his tree to shake the Asiatic world with his thoughts, would be worth all the English, Scotch, or American missionaries who have laboured or died for their faith since Henry Martyn or Dr. Carey." But we cannot forget that "the early Church had to wait centuries for its Augustines and its Chrysostoms, and to endure, in early converts who took the lead, much unripe fruit. The Gnostics were instances of Greek Christianity trying to cut loose from the Hebrew leading strings. Monasticism was another outgrowth of the amalgamation of pagan and Christian ideas by new converts. But the deepest depths reached by Christian heretics were as nothing to the degradation Buddhism underwent at the hands of new converts, who took the lead in shaping its presentation to their countrymen. The Tai-pings, again, are an illustration of what Christianity might become in the hands of a Chinese 'Christian Gautama, sitting under a tree to shake the Asiatic world with his thoughts.' It is evident that long contact with the Gospel constitutes the necessary prerequisite to sane and effective missionary work."—(Editorial, "Missions and Heredity," *The Sunday School Times,* July 17, 1897.) It

is no short and easy task which we have undertaken, and the difficulties are great,—not short, for it will take our lifetime; not easy, for it will take our lives, and difficult because it is great, but short and easy for God, and sure if He has us for His free and unresisted working.

IV

MISSIONS AND POLITICS

IV

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THE political problems of missions arise from the fact that the missions are foreign, the missionaries who carry them on are foreigners, and the religion which they carry, claiming to be universal, is seen to be a foreign religion by those to whom it is offered. Christianity in the first three centuries faced grave political questions, but it did not face these problems of modern missions. The early Christian mission was carried on in the Roman Empire. The missionaries were native Roman citizens or Roman subjects. The religion was hostile to the established religion and it was at times proscribed, but it was not foreign in the sense in which Christianity is foreign to-day, as complicated with a foreign civilisation and foreign governments; at the outset it was allowed a free course, and the persecutions when they came were not continuous or permanent. The issue was one of domestic politics, of the relation of Church and State, of the adjustment of the Christian and his religion to the political order in which they belonged. This is only part of the problem to-day. It is the universal part to which there are many elements added by the distinctive character of modern foreign missions.

The political aspects of Christian missions, accordingly, are inevitable. The Boxer troubles brought them forward into the thought of all the world, but they were not new. Fifty years before they had been pressed on the world in connection with the Indian Mutiny, and scarcely anything was said in 1900 about the political status of missionaries and the political problems of the movement that had not been said in 1857, or even earlier. At their very inception foreign missions were so entangled with

politics that it almost seemed that the enterprise would be stifled at its birth. The East India Company prohibited the work and excluded the missionaries from its territories. Carey had to begin his work under the Danish flag. Judson was shut out from India by political opposition and had to change his plans and settle in Burmah, and there all sorts of political perplexities beset him. For years the work in India was either forbidden or discouraged or offset by the East India Company. When in 1807 the missionary press at Serampore issued "An address to all persons professing the Moslem faith," the Danish Governor of Serampore was instantly requested by the Governor-General and Council of the East India Company to interpose his authority to prohibit the issue of any more copies of the pamphlet or of any publications of a similar description. Not long after, the British authorities issued an order forbidding preaching and prohibiting the missionaries from printing any books "directed to the object of converting the natives to Christianity." And the resolutions of the Supreme Council to this effect were justified on the ground that "the obligation to suppress within the limits of the Company's authority in India treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, were founded on considerations of necessary caution, general safety, and national faith and honour."

Many non-Christian lands were entirely closed not only to missionaries, but to all foreigners, such as Japan, Korea, and China. When foreigners were at length admitted to these countries it was by political arrangements which applied equally to all classes of people, and none could enter save on the basis of these arrangements. To-day there are countries such as Turkey where no one can enter without a passport granted by his government, and in some of these lands like Turkey and Persia there are traditional political arrangements governing all native Christian bodies, which bring at once all who have relations to these bodies within an absolutely unavoidable tangle of political questions. And the proposition to make Christian disciples in these Moslem lands raises immediately, as we shall see, the most acute political issues.

Even those who think that missionaries should not be religious propagandists, and who find in their religious zeal the source of the political perplexities which arise, approve of the medical and educational work of missions. But such work can only be carried on in buildings and on land, the acquisition and titles of which open at once the whole political issue. Treaties have to be made covering these questions, registrations are required, rights have to be defined, and problems of taxation settled. The missionary movement has to be carried on on the earth, and all the problems of the earth ensnare it.

These political bearings of foreign missions are simply inevitable and inescapable. Missionaries have created some of them, some unwisely, some unavoidably, but some have been created for them by others, or have lain in the nature of things. They are here now, at any rate, and the movement must deal with them.

The Western nations will not let missions escape from their political relationship. Even if they wished to escape they would not be allowed to do so. Citizens are citizens, and each nation cannot do otherwise than keep watch over its own. The problems springing from such simple watchfulness and protection have been eclipsed by the consequences of the acts of Western nations in using missions as pretexts for invasion and aggrandisement. A missionary pretext served Germany as the ground for action in Africa, which brought on the partitionment of the continent, and it was Germany's action in Shantung in the seizure of Kiao-Chou bay which partly caused and entirely precipitated the Boxer uprising. France has been guilty of more offences, though no act of hers has yielded such tragic results as Germany's two. For damages inflicted on French missions in the interior of China the French consul at Choongking demanded as compensation "mining rights in six districts of Szechuen, extending over six degrees of latitude, together with an indemnity of 1,200,000 taels. In May, 1898, Père Berthollet, a French missionary in Kwangsi, was murdered. Among other compensations for this outrage, the French Government obtained the right to build a railway from Pakhoi to Nanning.

This concession," adds Professor Reinsch, "was sought mainly in order to prevent a grant of the concession to Great Britain. The manner in which religious, industrial, and political considerations are combined in this case produces a somewhat incongruous result."—(REINSCH, "World Politics," p. 146.) No one has protested against such incongruities, such iniquities, as the missionaries have done. There may have been rare individuals who welcomed them, but no one who loves justice, much less any one who understands and accepts the missionary aim can do otherwise than abhor them and lament the disastrous effects upon the unity of the world and upon the missionary enterprise which is its chief hope, of the lawless brigandage and international crimes of Western nations. The non-Christian peoples cannot be blamed for identifying missions and politics and the mission cause suffers incalculably from the confusion.

The fact of the confusion immensely complicates and hinders the missionary movement. The movement even without such confusion, presented in its purity, would be difficult of understanding in many countries. Its unselfishness would be misinterpreted and its ideals mistrusted. But the Eastern nations have not been left free to view it in its purity. The foreign missions which we carry on are met by the most intricate network of political misconceptions. An article in the *Nida-Ye-Vatan* in Teheran in 1907, protesting against the agreement between Great Britain and Russia as to spheres of influence in Persia, shows how far the effects of proceedings in China reach, for no wrong of this sort has ever been done in Persia:

"So then we with loud voice say to the Persians, if you do not yourselves invite the Russians and the English, for a thousand years they will not enter your country. The invitation to them is in several ways. One is to oppress the subjects of foreign countries, and it is also necessary that we make this point clear. The subjects of foreign countries place themselves in the region of oppression, and for the sake of advancing their own country are ready to give themselves to death, as is the custom of the foreign priests for the most part; and it is necessary that in this matter there should be special care."

Dr. Ross has described for us the frame of mind to which the first missions in Manchuria had to address themselves:

At the initiation of the mission in Newchang in 1872 it was discovered that the Chinese were deeply and angrily suspicious of the missionary. As we read in Du Halde, this suspicion became chronic in China, soon after the Jesuits had established themselves in the country. Sir George Staunton, in his history of Earl Macartney's Embassy, refers to the same suspicion and its causes. The suspicion in Newchang was but the echo of the louder and older suspicion in China proper. Appearances deepened the belief that the missionary had some secret design not consistent with the peace or the freedom of China. The merchant was there avowedly for gain. The doctor was working to make a fortune. The consul was well-paid for looking after his countrymen. But for what was the missionary there? The people knew nothing of Christianity, not even the most elementary truths. It was the general belief that Jesus was the reigning sovereign of "foreigndom," by which generic title Europe was known to the Chinese, who could not differentiate between the various nationalities. China was the land of beauty and wealth, and foreigndom the land of poverty—for if not, why should foreigners leave their own land? Hence King Jesus sent an army into China in 1842, and another in 1860, to take possession of the land of wealth and beauty. The armies were victorious, but were compelled to return again, as there was no party of Chinese to welcome them. Force had twice proved inadequate, and therefore cunning was resorted to.

These relations of missions to politics arise not only from the actions of Western nations and the ideas of Eastern peoples, but from the certain consequences of missionary activity. It is a revolutionary force which missions carry into the non-Christian nations.

It is a force which affects life. The religion of which the missionaries are the custodians and propagandists, as Dr. Oswald Dykes remarked at the London Conference in 1888, is "a religion which appeals to man's nature through all its avenues, and which aims at satisfying all its cravings and needs." This religion deals with men in their activities and relationships. Those who feel its spirit instantly become leaders in work and

service. On September 1, 1908, the Japanese Government held a convention of native leaders in philanthropic enterprises, such as orphanages, ex-convict homes, factory-girls' homes, rescue homes, blind asylums, and many other institutions designed to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate or the depraved classes of society. There were lectures on all kinds of social subjects. The Christians of Japan are less than one two-hundredths of the population. They were one-ninth of this conference. The Buddhists outnumber the Christians in the Empire two hundred to one; in this conference only five to one. The schools through which missions spread light throw that light into all recesses of life and affect the policies of nations. Modern Turkey testifies to the work of Robert College at Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Authoritative voices have recognised the effects of missions upon Chinese life and policy. "The history of modern education in China," says Dr. Yen, Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington, "covers a period of only a few years, but the system has made wonderful strides in that period, and certainly the work is considered by our Government and people alike as the most urgent and most important we have on hand. . . . A large part of the credit for initiating this wonderful educational movement in our country is due to missionary foresight and enterprise. They were the earliest to realise the importance of changing radically our obsolete system of education, and to-day some of the missionary colleges may easily be classed among our best. The splendid work they are doing is appreciated and recognised by our Government and people. . . . To me the educational phase of the missionary labours seems the most important and most influential. Through the school and college the missionary comes in contact with the upper and ruling classes of our people, and the influence he exercises over his pupils in the classroom—the future leaders of the Empire—will help to direct our future national policies."—(*The Intercollegian*, February, 1909, p. 116.) And at a banquet in New York to the Imperial Chinese Commissioners who visited the West in 1906, His Excellency Tuan Fang, recently viceroy of Chih-li,

declared: "We take pleasure this evening in bearing testimony to the part taken by American missionaries in promoting the progress of the Chinese people. They have borne the light of Western civilisation into every nook and corner of the Empire. They have rendered inestimable service to China by the laborious task of translating into the Chinese language religious and scientific works of the West. They help us to bring happiness and comfort to the poor and the suffering by the establishment of hospitals and schools. The awakening of China, which now seems to be at hand, may be traced in no small measure to the hand of the missionary. For this service you will find China not ungrateful."—(New York *Sun,* February 3, 1906.) In India the work of missions among the low or outcaste people is profoundly affecting the life and social organisation of India. The Brahman commissioner for the state of Travancore, in the last census but one, bore testimony to this in a state paper submitted to an Indian prince; and this was nearly twenty years ago, before the greatest movements among these people had been begun by Christianity. "The heroism of raising the low from the slough of debasement," said he, "is an element of civilisation unknown to ancient India. But for the Christian missionaries in the country, these humble orders would forever remain unraised." The highest educational officer in the south of India has recently set forth the same opinion of the life-moulding character of the work done by Christianity in the country. In a report to the Government he writes: "I have frequently drawn attention to the educational progress of the native Christian community. If this community pursues with steadiness the present policy of its teachers, there can be no question that with the immense advantages it possesses in the way of educational institutions, in the course of a generation it will have secured a preponderating position in all the great professions, and possibly, too, in the industrial enterprises of the country; in the latter because no section of the community has entered on the new departure in education with greater earnestness than the native Christians."—(Quoted in SLATER, "Missions and Sociology," pp. 42, 51.) The testimony that

could be cited to show the inevitable effects of Christian missions upon the life of men, the principles of society, and their political organisation is unlimited. (See Dennis's encyclopædic work, "Christian Missions and Social Progress.")

It must suffice to add but one other illustration, namely, the Sandwich Islands. The Hon. John W. Foster, formerly the American Secretary of State, and a man of extensive diplomatic experience and authoritative knowledge of the Far East, has told the story in his history of "American Diplomacy in the Orient":

The first missionaries were kindly received, and hopefully entered upon their labours under favourable conditions. Additional missionaries were sent out from the Boston board, and soon they were actively at work throughout the group. Such great success attended their labours that within a few years the larger part of the population were reported as adherents of Christianity, including the king and the court. In 1843, John Quincy Adams, then Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, made a report to Congress in which he spoke of this achievement as follows: "It is a subject of cheering contemplation to the friends of human improvement and virtue that, by the mild and gentle influence of Christian charity, dispensed by humble missionaries of the Gospel unarmed with secular power within the last quarter of a century, the people of this group of islands have been converted from the lowest abasement of idolatry to the blessings of the Christian Gospel; united under one balanced government; rallied to the fold of civilisation by a written language and constitution providing security for the rights of persons, property, and mind, and invested with all the elements of right and power which can entitle them to be acknowledged by their brethren of the human race as a separate and independent community." The islands were visited in 1860 by the well-known American, Richard H. Dana, who, after spending some time in investigating the work of the missionaries, on his return to the United States published an article upon the subject. From his high standing as a lawyer, and from the fact that he was not a member of the denomination which wrought this great transformation in the population, his statement carries great weight. The following extract is taken from his article: "It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and to write, to cipher and to sew. They have given them an alphabet, gram-

mar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion, science, entertainment, etc. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now the proportion of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England; and whereas they found these islands a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannised over by feudal chiefs, and abandoned to sensuality, they now see them decently clothed, recognising the laws of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people do at home; and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies." The result of this work of the missionaries was seen in the new order of things in society and government. Regulations were decreed by which the outward exhibition of licentiousness and intemperance was sought to be restrained, crime and disorder punished, and the civil rights of the people enforced by judicial process. The government, which had before been a despotic autocracy, assumed a constitutional form, and the king was aided by an organised body of advisers, and later by a legislative assembly. The political reorganisation was almost entirely the work of the missionaries. They were not always free from mistakes in government, but they always studied the good of the people and the best interests of the king. Much diversity of sentiment has been expressed by writers upon the effects of the labors of the Christian missionaries in the Orient, but the better judgment of candid observers is in favour of their beneficial influence on the rulers and the people, even aside from the religious considerations involved.—(Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 106 ff.)

Hawaii presents an exceptional situation, for there missions became naturalised as well as the Church, and the missionaries and their families became a really corporate part of the new life which Christianity organised. But even when missions have preserved their distinctively religious character and remained foreign missions, they have affected political life, that is, the life of men organised in the state and in local government. They have done so in the deepest, most penetrating, and pervasive way by planting in men a new principle of action and relation-

ship and new ideals of personal and national duty. This was the effect of the first preaching of Christianity. It struck straight at the ethical principles and relationships of men. "Moral regeneration and the moral life were not merely one side of Christianity to Paul," says Harnack in the second edition of "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity," "but its very fruit and goal on earth. The entire labour of the Christian mission might be described as a moral enterprise, or the awakening and strengthening of the moral sense. Such a description would not be inadequate to its full contents." Yes, provided "moral" is understood in a sufficiently full sense. Christianity operated at once on the individual and corporate life. It does so still. It penetrates to the roots of motives, and by relating men anew to God, relates them anew to their fellow-men. The new Christian Churches are themselves schools of order and freedom, of loyalty, but also of democracy, and the missionary as he goes to and fro is alike the reminder and the hope of a free and serving society. No other force operates as deeply and as transformingly as his. A traveller in Western Asia, William E. Baxter, M.P., testifies to what he heard on the ground in Egypt and Turkey. "I found that men of all nationalities and creeds emphatically and unanimously gave evidence that the colleges, schools, churches, and other institutions, conducted with most conspicuous ability, with a remarkable freedom from all sectarian or religious narrowness, by American missionaries, were doing more for the civilisation and education of the ignorant masses of the East than any other agency whatever."—(BARTON, "The Missionary and His Critics," p. 64.) And abundant testimony is at hand from those who have themselves been identified with the other agencies by which the West is transforming the East. The words of Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, will suffice. Speaking at St. Michaels, Cornhill, on March 4, 1902, he said:

As a business man speaking to business men I am prepared to say that the work which has been done by missionary agency in India exceeds in importance all that has been done (and much has been done) by the British Government in India since its

commencement. Let me take the Province which I know best. I ask myself what has been the most potent influence which has been working among the people since annexation fifty-four years ago, and to that question I feel there is but one answer—Christianity, as set forth in the lives and teaching of Christian missionaries. I do not underestimate the forces which have been brought to bear on the races in the Punjab by our beneficent rule, by British justice and enlightenment; but I am convinced that the effect on native character produced by the self-denying labours of missionaries is far greater. The Punjab bears on its historical roll the names of many Christian statesmen who have honoured God by their lives and endeared themselves to the people by their faithful work; but I venture to say that if they could speak to us from the great unseen, there is not one of them who would not proclaim that the work done by men like French, Clark, Newton, and Forman, who went in and out among the people for a whole generation or more, and who preached by their lives the nobility of self-sacrifice, and the lesson of love to God and man, is a higher and nobler work, and more far-reaching in its consequences.

Christianity, it must be said again, is bound to wield such influences as these. The true corporate life of man has to stand on religious sanctions, and Christianity inevitably offers itself as providing these sanctions, and the dissolution of the ancient sanctions of Asia by civilisation, as well as by Christianity, creates a necessity which no power can prevent Christianity from offering itself to supply. Capable men in Asia see this. "I firmly believe," said Baron Mayajima, a former member of the Japanese cabinet, "we must have religion as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness as the foundation of our national existence, we shall fall short of the highest success. I do not hesitate to say that we must have religion for our highest welfare. And when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely upon, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the nation."

Christianity is bound to offer itself to such needs, and in doing so and in affecting life, it is certain to work with up-

heaving and revolutionary effects. It is a principle of life and therefore its natural utterance is by orderly development; but when opposed, its inalienable nature is to gather strength and to burst through at last. The Taiping rebellion shows what a terrible distortion can be given to the power which is in Christianity. The whole history of the world reveals what collisions are certain when its truth in its purity and in the partial forms in which we cast it, seeks a home for itself in life. Mr. Foster refers to this in his discussion of troubles in China. "The teaching of Christianity," he says, "tended to the introduction of ideas hostile to the existing governmental order and struck at ancestor worship. The missionaries opposed such native customs as slavery, concubinage, support of heathen festivals, and foot-binding. In fact, in China as elsewhere, and in all ages, the influence of Christianity was revolutionary. Its founder declared that He came 'not to send peace but a sword.' Paul, the first missionary, when he declared 'the Gospel is the power of God,' used the Greek word which has been anglicised to designate the most powerful of all modern explosives—dynamite. If the introduction of Christianity into the little island of Britain was attended with bloodshed and disorder for four hundred years, it should not be regarded as strange that in the mighty Empire of the East its propagation has been marked by civil commotion."—(FOSTER, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 411.)

Even now we have not exhausted the sources of the political entanglement of the missionary enterprise. The movement in the past has not been able to keep itself free from actual political service. Its religious principle has produced political results, but also its agents have engaged in unmistakable political activity. They have sought to determine the political destinies of lands and peoples. One of the many notable instances was John Mackenzie of South Africa, who toiled in the interest of the native peoples and of the cause of civilisation, to secure what he believed was the best sovereignty for large areas of southern Africa. He not only wrought at home in England to this end, but returned to Africa with a civil appointment as administrator. His son

draws a picture of his political activity at home and quotes the judgment of Mr. W. T. Stead:

There seemed to be no limit to his activity. He interviewed cabinet Ministers, he buttonholed editors, he haunted the lobby of the House of Commons. He saw every one who had any influence in the matter, and compassed sea and land if by any means he might make one proselyte. When the Transvaal delegates came, they imagined that they had only to come and see, and conquer. If they had come nine months earlier their anticipations might have been fulfilled. When they arrived, however, it was too late. Mr. Mackenzie had been beforehand with them, and to their unconcealed chagrin, they found that the public would not tolerate their attempt to erect a Boer barrier across the great trade route from the Cape to Central Africa. Bechuanaland was saved, and much more than Bechuanaland. . . . Mr. Mackenzie secured the favourable verdict of the Government and of public opinion, not merely for the administration of Bechuanaland, but for the adoption of that far-reaching native policy which he has labelled the territorial system. . . . Without forgetting for a moment the old warning against boasting when donning our armour, we may safely say that we bid Mr. Mackenzie God-speed, with every confidence that hereafter he will live in the annals of our empire as the man who, at a grave crisis, saved Africa for England.—(MACKENZIE, "Mackenzie of South Africa," p. 310.)

At the Brussels Conference, in 1889-90, missionaries were among the active agitators in behalf of the limitation of the liquor traffic in Africa and in the fight against the slave trade and the importation of firearms and intoxicants into the South Sea Islands, and in the modern war against the opium traffic, they have been the leaders. David Livingstone's name will ever stand first among those who wrought for the social and political redemption of Africa. John G. Paton, who eschewed all political confusion of his mission, was the leading spirit in protecting the savage people of the Pacific. And Bishop Brent, a missionary in the Philippines, was Chairman of the International Conference on the opium traffic held in Shanghai, February, 1909.

Oftentimes political service has been imposed upon mission-

aries by their home governments, in circumstances where their governments would have been impotent without them, and where it would have been a disloyalty to civilisation and to humanity for them to refuse their aid. Caleb Cushing, later Attorney-General of the United States, who was sent to China in 1844, has put on record his estimate of the services of American missionaries to the representatives of the United States in the negotiation with China of the first treaties:

In the late negotiations with China, the most important, not to say indispensable service, was derived from American missionaries, and more especially from Dr. Bridgman and Dr. Parker. They possessed the rare qualification of understanding the Chinese language, which enabled them to act as interpreters to the legation; their intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese made them invaluable as advisers, and their high character contributed to give weight and moral strength to the mission, and while their co-operation with me was thus of eminent utility to the United States, it will prove, I trust, not less useful to the general cause of humanity and of religion in the East. But the particular service rendered by the American missionaries in this case is but one of a great class of facts appertaining to the whole body of Christian missionaries in China. In the first place, other legations to China have been equally dependent on the Christian missionaries for the means of intercourse with the Chinese government, of which well-known examples occur in the history of the successive British embassies of Lord Macartney, Lord Amherst, and Sir Henry Pottinger. In the second place, the great bulk of the general information we possess in regard to China, and nearly the whole of the primary philological information concerning the two great languages of the Chinese empire, namely, the Chinese and the Manchu, are derived through the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. (Here follows a long list of philological works, prepared by different missionaries.) In thus briefly answering your enquiry on a single point in the history of Christian missions, namely, their incidental usefulness, permit me to add that, eminently great as this their incidental utility has been, it is but a small point, comparatively, among the great and good deeds of the religious missionaries in the East. There is not a nobler nor a more deeply interesting chapter than this in the history of human courage, intellect, self-sacrifice, greatness, and virtue; and it remains yet to be written

in a manner worthy of the dignity of the subject, and of its relations to civilisation and government, as well as to the Christian Church.—(BRIDGMAN, "The Missionary Pioneer," pp. 132-134.)

Mr. Foster has borne striking testimony to the services rendered later to America and the world, most of all the Empire of Japan, by S. Wells Williams, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

One of the best known of Americans in China was Dr. S. Wells Williams. He mastered that most difficult language, and came to be recognised as the first scholar and linguist of all the foreign residents. When our Government determined to force an entrance into Japan, which had been hermetically closed against all foreigners for centuries, Commodore Perry was despatched with a formidable fleet, and both America and Europe were laid under tribute to furnish men of learning and fitness to make the expedition a success. But before Commodore Perry could venture on the first diplomatic step in his work, he had to repair with his fleet to Canton to take on board Dr. Williams as his interpreter and adviser; and the narrative which the Commodore has left of his expedition shows that in securing intercourse with the authorities and in the details of treaty negotiations, Dr. Williams was his main support, and to him, more than to any other person, was the Commodore indebted for the complete success of his expedition, which has brought so much fame to American diplomacy and which has given to the United States such prominence in the affairs of the Far East.

When the allied British and French fleets went to Tientsin in 1858 to exact treaties from China, the American Minister took with him Dr. Williams as his counsellor and interpreter, and he played a very important part in those negotiations. The Minister reported to his Government: "I could not but for this aid have advanced a step in discharge of my duties." Years afterwards, when Dr. Williams was leaving China to return to America to spend the evening of his life, the Secretary of State, Mr. Fish, wrote him: "Above all, the Christian world will not forget that to you more than to any other man is due the insertion in our treaty with China of the liberal provision for the toleration of the Christian religion." For many years after that event the Doctor continued as the trusted adviser of our Government in all Chinese questions. He left as a monu-

ment to his industry and learning the Chinese Dictionary, and he gave to the world in his "Middle Kingdom" the most complete work on China, which is to this day the standard authority on that country.

Another person took a prominent part as the associate of Dr. Williams in the Tientsin expedition and negotiations of 1858—Dr. W. A. P. Martin, who went to that country as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. He became proficient in the Chinese language and literature, and was called into the service of the Imperial Government. For thirty years he held the post of the head of the Chinese educational system in the foreign course of study, and has acted as an adviser to its Foreign Office in international affairs. He has translated into Chinese our own standard author on international law, Wheaton, and other Western publicists. He has been of inestimable service to the Imperial Government, and has been characterised by Minister Denby as "the foremost American in China."

Such are some of the services which Christian missionaries have rendered to the Western nations and to China in their political and diplomatic relations. It is not too much to say that up to the middle of the last century the governments of Europe and America were almost entirely dependent upon the missionaries for the direct conduct of their intercourse with Chinese officials.—(FOSTER, "The Relation of Diplomacy to Foreign Missions," pp. 13-15.)

This demand for diplomatic service did not come from the Western nations only. Japan besought the assistance of Verbeck, and when the United States Government's treaty with Siam was negotiated in 1856, Dr. Wood of the Embassy, wrote that "the unselfish kindness of the American missionaries, their patience, sincerity, and faithfulness, have won the confidence and esteem of the natives, and in some degree transferred those sentiments to the nation represented by the missionary and prepared the way for the free and national intercourse now commencing. It was very evident that much of the apprehension they felt in taking upon themselves the responsibilities of a treaty with us would be diminished if they could have the Rev. Mr. Mattoon as the first United States Consul to set the treaty in motion." In 1871, the Regent of Siam frankly told Mr.

Seward, the United States Consul-General at Shanghai, "Siam has not been disciplined by English and French guns as China has, but the country has been opened by missionaries." The great districts of Uganda and Nyassa in Africa were practically secured to Great Britain by the missionaries of the Church of England and the Scotch Presbyterians. When the East Africa Company was on the point of giving up Uganda, which would probably have involved its loss to Great Britain, the Church Missionary Society raised £15,000 of the £40,000 needed to maintain the Company's hold for one year until the British Government could be induced to take it over. Of the work of the Scotch Presbyterians in Nyassaland, Joseph Thomson, the traveller, bears testimony after his visit in 1879. "Where international effort has failed," he said, "an unassuming mission, supported only by a small section of the British people, has been quietly and unostentatiously, but most successfully realising in its own district the entire programme of the Brussels Conference. I refer to the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. This mission has proved itself, in every sense of the word, a civilising centre. By it slavery has been stopped, desolating wars put an end to, and peace and security given to a wide area of the country." The Church of Scotland mission at Blantyre has rendered similar service.

The considerations which we have now reviewed bring clearly before us the entanglement of missions and politics, and raise some vital questions. Is this entanglement consistent with the aim of the missionary movement? Does it make Christ known or obscure Him? Is it helpful to the effort to make men His true disciples and to domesticate the Christian Church as a spiritual force in non-Christian lands? Is such an entanglement unavoidable? If it is, are any of its results evil? If they are, how can they be limited in their operation? To put the questions more concretely, should Christians seek to preach only what will not create disturbance or upheaval, heeding the counsel of an article in *The Empire Review* some years ago on "The State and Christian Missions," in which missionaries were wisely warned against the assumption that they are justi-

fied in preaching new and unfamiliar truths at all times and among all people, without regard to consequences, and against ignoring the sense of historical perspective or the law of accommodation to things as they are? This is " to forget the example of Christ and to set the character of His missionaries in a light in which it will neither deserve nor command the respect of mankind." More concretely still, are the missionaries to try to convert Mohammedans? If they do this in Mohammedan lands they will create more disturbance than they will by preaching new and unfamiliar truth in Japan? And even if they convert high-caste Hindus in mission schools in India, there will be trouble. Should missionaries avoid this? Shall they ever apply Christianity to life or merely preach it as a personal philosophy or theory of things as they ought to be, not to be pressed too far to the disturbance of things as they are? Shall they avoid all collision with native customs and accept in silence all wrongs which they behold, including the wrongs done in the name of Christ or in the name of institutions which compromise Him? Shall they refrain from all political service of any sort whatever, refusing to give help of any kind to governments of either East or West? Shall they divorce missions absolutely from politics; that is, from the organised civil life of man, and obey the law of accommodation to things as they are? Doing otherwise, will they be forgetting the example of Christ and the true character of Christianity?

Ask the men who ruled the Jewish nation in the day of Christ how they regarded Him and His doctrine, that fearless Teacher and that piercing message which, as they clearly saw, imperilled all their ideals for the nation. Ask the Roman Emperors who saw in the new faith an imperial power which doomed the ancient order and which in due time revolutionised the state. Christianity was not, and was never meant to be, a nullity, a reaffirmation of existing orders. It turned the world upside down, and is needed for the same upheaving transformation of life to-day. The missionary cannot be faithful to his aim without producing results. The very troubles which sometimes follow are a proof that he has earnestly sought to attain his

aim and that the aim was good. If no trouble followed, it would be a proof that the man and his mission were innocuous and unnecessary. "So far from the troubles in China being an argument against missions, they are distinctly an argument for them," says the *Shanghai Mercury* (August 6, 1900), which is not a missionary organ; "and," it adds, "an overwhelmingly powerful argument. The evils which flourish so abundantly among the Chinese people, and which give opportunity to the designing, unscrupulous, and greedy mandarins, are evils which nothing can effectively cure in the absence of the Christian motive and the Christian ethic."

There is a confusion of missions with politics that is disastrous. The very relationship between the two, which we have seen to be inevitable, is freighted with intricate problems. But all those relationships which are demanded or allowed by the missionary aim will work out good, and the perplexities which they involve are the unavoidable perplexities of life and progress, perplexities which are less and less perilous than the opiate issues of a stagnant and undisturbed order. The practical questions which we face are questions not of principle, but of method, of judgment in the application of principle. In all such questions men may err. Often we only know by the far-off result whether the judgment was right or not. But the best that we can do is simply to do the best that we can. And men have never gone far astray who realised what the missionary aim was, and who, walking with Christ, determined in the guiding light of His countenance what it was for which that aim called.

We are told, however, that the relation of missions to politics is a question not of judgment in the application of a principle to conditions, but of principle itself. The missionary movement, it is said, has no civil standing. The missionary is a self-expatriated man, the character of whose errand has deprived him of political rights. His mission is an intrusion and an impertinence. All other forms of national intercourse are legitimate, even the trade in opium with China and in dressed pork with Turkey, and in Russian brandy and French wine with

Persia. It is right to fight for the extension or preservation of such trade and to instruct consular agents to investigate the probable markets for beer, for patent alcoholic medicines, for any reputable article of commerce. Western brothels and saloons are entitled to protection, and the commercial pirate must be backed against the heathen, and the judge advocate who thinks otherwise must be replaced with a man of understanding. This is the baser form of the still too common opinion. Others say that the missionaries cannot carry on their work without disturbance, that this disturbance involves their Government, and that neither the character nor the results of the work warrant the trouble to which the Government is put. The Hon. John Sherman, when Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, put this view quite bluntly in a letter to Professor A. D. G. Hamlin: "I sympathise with you entirely in your view of Turkey," he wrote, "and its atrocious persecution of Christians, and would be glad to provide some suitable remedy; but what can we do? If our citizens go to a far distant country, semi-civilised and bitterly opposed to their movements, we cannot follow them there and protect them." —(New York *Independent,* April 30, 1896.) Others who recognise that a nation must care for its citizens think that the movements of the missionaries should be politically limited. A London newspaper set forth a simple plan of this sort at the time of the Boxer troubles. "Since there is no prospect of altering the mass of Chinese life, which has varied little, if at all, since a time in which Christianity only existed as implied in the prophecies, would it not be better to stop the missionary enterprise altogether?" This was the way this forgotten writer of a day put his question about a movement which all the nations of the earth cannot stop. "It would be easy to do so," he flowed on, "if the Powers would only agree. We allow, of course, that it would be difficult to get them to combine for the purpose, but if any good is to be done a public opinion must be formed, and one can only try. As for the method, it is easily defined. If it were settled, as it easily might be, by treaty, that no European was allowed to enter China without a pass-

port, and that none should be issued except to those who gave guarantees that they were engaged in commercial or industrial business only, the trouble would cease at once. If any missionary were to persist in going up country, the Chinese authorities would be entitled to arrest him and bring him back to the nearest treaty port."—(*St. James Gazette,* September 13, 1900.)

Still others who think that the missionary has a right to propagate his religion all over the world believe that he should not appeal to what Dr. Cust loved to call "the arm of the flesh," or ever enjoy the physical protection of his Government. This view was set forth in the resolution of the Universal Peace Congress in Glasgow in 1902. One of the commissions presented the following proposal adopted for submission to the congress:

I.—Considering that even if every man has the right to endeavour to induce his fellow-men to share his convictions, he who undertakes such a task must expect opposition, and must expect resistance to be particularly active when, as in the case of the missionaries, he undertakes to inculcate in races belonging to civilisations very different from his own, ideas and convictions in absolute opposition to theirs; considering that the missionaries face these dangers with a perfect knowledge of all that is involved, and that they ought to consider the opportunity of suffering for their faith as among the most glorious of their rewards; considering that even though homage may be rendered to the courage and sincerity of these men, it can nevertheless not be admitted that the propaganda of their religious ideas should have, even as its indirect consequence, the exposure of their country to the evils of war, and the endangering of the life of thousands of their compatriots who do not perhaps share their convictions, and are not disposed to make the same sacrifices; considering that even if the civilised nations are under obligation to protect such of their subjects as may reside in a foreign land, it is only that they themselves abstain from offending the prejudices, or attacking the convictions of the peoples whose hospitality they receive; considering that it is the duty of missionaries to abstain from all intemperate zeal, and on the contrary to exercise the tact, prudence, and moderation which would be suggested to them both by the precepts of their religion and the care for their personal interest;

The Congress is of opinion that the Powers should rigorously abstain from all armed intervention intended to protect, succour or avenge the missionaries of their nationality who have voluntarily exposed themselves to the hostility or the resentment of peoples of an absolutely different civilisation.

II.—Considering that in certain countries, and notably in the Far East, some subjects of the non-Christian Powers who join one of the Christian Churches take advantage thereof to claim the position of diplomatic protection from one of the nations holding the Christian Faith, and thus to escape the authority of their own Government;

Considering that the Christian nations cannot admit these claims without injuring the sovereign rights which even non-Christian Powers have incontestably over their own subjects, of whatever religion they may be, and without, as a consequence, exposing themselves to the danger of exciting the legitimate susceptibilities of these Powers;

The Congress is of opinion that the Christian nations should strictly abstain from claiming, or even admitting, their diplomatic protection of the subjects of the non-Christian Powers who may have joined either of the Christian Churches.

On the basis of this proposal, the following resolution was adopted:

The Congress, recognising that it is the duty of every country to protect its own citizens who reside abroad, and also citizens of other countries residing within its borders, while they respect the law;

Recognising also that homage should be rendered to the courage and sincerity of missionaries who sacrifice comfort, and sometimes life, for the promotion of their faith; and that every man has the right to endeavour to induce others to share his convictions;

The Congress nevertheless earnestly recommends that missionaries should rigorously abstain from all action which can even indirectly expose their country to war; should refrain from appealing to their governments to avenge their wrongs; and should rely on the well-recognised power of disinterested effort, and not upon military force, which must always be a hindrance to their service.

Very true, but when have missionaries exposed their country to war? When have missionaries appealed to governments to

avenge their wrongs? When have they sought to rely on military force? Speaking for the Protestant missions of America, I do not know. I believe that never in their history have the foreign missionaries sent out from America exposed their country to war, appealed to their Government to avenge their wrongs, or sought to rely on military force. The missionary organisations may have asked their Government to maintain treaty rights or to secure the establishment of justice or to protect lives, but never by the use of force, and always in the interest of foreigners and natives alike who suffer equally from injustice and wrongdoing. The Resolutions of the Glasgow Peace Conference represent the excitement over false issues into which good people who do not know the facts or who generalise from such national sets of facts as the French and German Roman Catholic missions may present, too easily stir themselves.

The simple, practical questions are first: What are the duties of governments toward missionaries? and, second: What are the duties of missionaries with reference to those duties of governments toward them which constitute their rights?

Now, with reference to the first of these questions, there have not been wanting such statesmen as John Sherman, who held that the missionary had no right to political protection, and that his Government had no such duty toward him, that his special errand annulled his political rights. And when such sober and responsible statesmen have taken this view, it is not to be wondered at that other men and newspapers, which were neither sober nor responsible, should look at the matter in the same light. And among sober and responsible men who could not take Mr. Sherman's view there have still been many who felt annoyed at the missionary enterprise, and who wished that governments might be spared the trouble occasioned by it. Lord Salisbury said there were some such in the British Foreign Office. It was in a speech at the Bi-Centenary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, January 19, 1900, in which, with the sincerity and missionary sympathy of a Christian man, he dealt with this fundamental problem of the relation of missions and politics, and recognised both the duty of govern-

ments and the great question of duty which missions had to face:

We owe to this great Society our assistance not only on account of those high and generous motives to which your president appealed, but because the civilisation which it is in a small degree our duty to serve, is not an unmixed blessing to this and other missionary societies. We owe you assistance because we are not able to avoid bringing a certain impediment to your work. I do not merely allude to the example which is set by Christian or so-called Christian men in other lands. They are open to great temptations. They have great difficulties to contend with. It may well be that there the spectacle of what they are doing and the lives they are living is not always calculated to further the work of missionary societies. But that is only partially the case. I believe that over the vast area of the British Empire the mass of those who draw their origin and receive their teaching from these shores are no unworthy members of the religious bodies to which they belong.

Yet we must recognise the difficulties which it is not in our power to avoid placing in the path of missionary societies. The difficulty results not so much from any lack on our part of desire to assist them, but because our very assistance carries with it certain drawbacks. We are startled when we read the history of vast and sudden conversions in old time and of the tremendous moral and spiritual power which seemed to sweep over a race or over a country in obedience to the preachings of the early missionaries of Christianity, and we wonder whether it will ever be that phenomena of that striking character will take place in our own time. But we must recognise that the position is entirely different. In the Church of old time great evangelists went forth to their work, exposed themselves to fearful dangers, and suffered all the terrors that the world could inflict in support of the doctrines which they preached and the morality which they practised. There was no doubt at the same time a corrupt society calling itself by their name. But, as your president has pointed out to you, the means of communication were not active, and were not as they are now, and things might go on without attracting the attention of those who listened to the teaching of the earlier teachers or diminishing the value of their work. Now things are considerably altered, and that very increase in the means of communication, that very augmentation of the power of opinion to affect opinion, and of man to affect man by the mere conquests that we have achieved in the material do-

main; those very conquests, while undoubtedly they are, as the Archbishop said, an invitation for Providence to take advantage of the means of spreading the Gospel, are also a means by which the lives of many and the acts of many, which are not wholly consistent with the ideal which is preached in the pulpit, or read in the Holy Book, are brought home to the knowledge of the vast nations which we seek to address. That is one of the great difficulties with which we have to contend, and that is one reason why this Society and all missionary societies appeal with undoubted force and with the right to have their appeal considered —that as our civilisation in its measure tends to hamper missionary efforts, so in its nobler manifestations and its more powerful efforts that civilisation, represented by our assistance, shall push forward to its ultimate victory the cause to which you are devoted.

But this is not the point on which it seems to me the great difficulty of our present time arises. If an evangelist or an apostle, a Boniface or a Columba, preached in the Middle Ages he faced the difficulties, he underwent the martyrdom, and he braved the torments to which he was exposed, and the whole of the great moral and spiritual influence of his self-devotion acted without hindrance upon the people whom he addressed. But now if a Boniface or a Columba is exposed to these martyrdoms the result is an appeal to the Consul and the mission of a gunboat, and, unfortunately, though that cannot be helped, though it is a blame to nobody, though it is far, indeed, from being a blame to our devoted missionaries, though I cannot admit that it is a blame to the secular Government by whom their end is avenged, still it does diminish the purely spiritual aspect and action of Christian teaching. It does give to men an opportunity and a temptation to attach a different meaning to that teaching and to suspect it of objects which are far, indeed, away from the thoughts of those who urge it. . . .

Remember that in old times if an evangelist gave himself up to martyrdom he derived the crown for which he looked, and he did not injure the cause that he was preaching or those persons whose interest he represented. But now any man who so conducts himself that his zeal leads to martyrdom, at least incurs this danger—that he will expose the lives of those to whom he is preaching, and—what is probably in the material results even worse—that he will cause the shedding of the blood of his own countrymen, the soldiers and the sailors by whom his countrymen are defended, and who will be forced for the sake of their fellow-countrymen and in order to avoid similar, or perhaps even

worse, outrages in the future, to enter upon military and hostile proceedings in order to avenge their death and prevent the outrages being repeated. It is a terrible dilemma. They cannot renounce, they cannot abandon, they cannot even be lukewarm in the commission which they have received. On the other hand, there is a real danger that if they do not observe the utmost caution, they may cause the loss of many, many lives, and they may attach to the religion which they desire to preach the discredit of being an instrument of territorial greed and a weapon of that warfare which one secular Power wages against another. I have urged what is not a pleasant topic, because I feel that it is one that ought to sink deep into the hearts of those who manage Missions. They run the risk, not in their own lives, of producing terrible events on a gigantic scale, because their position is closely mixed up with that of the secular Powers, and because the secular Powers, in justice to their own subjects, are unable to allow their death to go unavenged.—(*Church Missionary Intelligencer,* July, 1900, pp. 547-549.)

On the question of the missionaries' relations to their governments, Professor Coolidge of Harvard University has expressed in his book on "The United States as a World Power" what many would regard as the tolerant and large-minded view of the unprejudiced man:

To the diplomat and to the consul, unless they happen to have personal sympathy with efforts to spread Christianity, the missionaries appear chiefly to be makers of endless trouble. Without passing a summary judgment on so many-sided a controversy, we can understand the point of view of those who declare that the coming of strangers to convert a people of ancient civilisation from long-inherited beliefs with which they are satisfied, is an impertinence in itself; that the missionaries frequently lack tact, and by their meddlesomeness get into unnecessary difficulties, and that what good they have accomplished has been incommensurate with the money spent in doing it. All this may be more or less true, but unprejudiced observers bear witness that, notwithstanding the jibes of the foreign settlements about the missionaries' comfortable mode of life, the latter often set a fine example of unselfishness; that they have alleviated much suffering, and in many cases they have done great good to individuals if not to nations as a whole. They have also more than once been helpful to their own government, and they have

promoted civilisation by adding to our knowledge of the lands where they have worked, often at the price of untold hardships and perils, and sometimes at the cost of their lives. Finally, it should be noted that at the present day the Protestant missionary of the older type, whose single idea was that of preaching the Gospel to the recalcitrant heathen in season and out of season, is dying out. In his place we find the practical, efficient representative of Christianity, who gives more time to looking after the material wants of his flock, and in particular to the cure of their diseases, than he does to direct propaganda. . . .

Whatever may be the personal opinions of the official representatives of the United States in the Far East they were obliged to protect their missionary fellow-citizens in the rights which treaties had accorded to them. (p. 328 ff.)

Professor Coolidge recognises the simple fact that the missionary has a standing as a citizen, and that where he is at work he is at work as a man; *i.e.,* as a man with a country which has authority over him and responsibility for him. This is the fundamental fact. The missionary is a citizen engaged in a recognised and legitimate activity, and as such he has the right to attend to his business and his Government has the duty to protect him in it. "There seems to be in a part of the public press of our country," said Mr. Foster at the time of the Chinese riots in 1895, "a misconception of the ground upon which our Government bases its intervention on account of these riots. It is not because we are a Christian country and are seeking to support a Christian propagandism in China. It is simply because the people in whose behalf our Government intervenes are American citizens, pursuing a vocation guaranteed by treaty and permitted by Chinese law. It should also be borne in mind that the Imperial Government has repeatedly recognised the salutary influence of Christian missions in their moral tendencies, their educational and medical work, and their charities. The American missionary has the same right to go into all parts of the Chinese Empire and preach and teach in the name of his Master as the American merchant has to carry on his trade with South America or the Islands of the Pacific, and he has the same right to invoke the protection

of his Government when his lawful vocation is unduly obstructed or his life or property put in peril."—(New York *Sun,* September 9, 1895.)

Any distinction between missionaries and other classes of citizens is impossible. Some have proposed that the rights recognised in the case of others should be denied to missionaries. But it would not be practicable, as the *Spectator* once remarked, to classify our citizens who go abroad into "burnable" and "unburnable," to distinguish to the easy recognition of each Chinese or Turkish villager those Scotchmen who might with propriety be murdered and their homes ravished from those whom the British Government was unwilling to surrender to such treatment. Indeed, if distinctions are to be made, we have some representatives abroad whose expulsion from the lands where they have gone would be quite justifiable, but all who are there in legitimate business and on a legitimate basis must be equally protected in their rights.

I am not raising yet the question whether a missionary should have any political rights, but am only pointing out that the fact is that he does have in every land where he is at work rights already acknowledged by his Government, and the Government under which he works. Some of these rights have grown up from long usage, and some of them have been embodied in treaty stipulations. In China his work is specially described and authorised. Article XIV of the last American Treaty (1903) reads:

The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian Churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China; and shall pay due respect to those

in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the Church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live in peace.

Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property for such societies, buildings, or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes, and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work.

There can be no question that the missionary has political rights under this treaty. And even in Turkey his presence and work are covered by elaborate capitulations and international agreements. The work of the American missionaries there, Mr. Bayard declared when Secretary of State, "rests on usage amounting from duration and the incidents assigned to it by law, to a charter."—(DWIGHT, "Treaty Rights of American Missionaries in Turkey.")

But there are some who admit that the missionary enterprise does have a legal status who nevertheless think that it ought not to have, and that governments should disavow any responsibility for the protection of missionary agents. Before we examine some of the arguments for this view, it is well to observe that the abrogation of an existing right does not leave matters where they would be if the right had never been recognised. If ignored by governments from the beginning the missionary enterprise would have made its own place, and that place would not be less influential than it is, but its position in that case would not be the position into which it would fall if all the historical development of the last century as affecting

the relation of missions and politics were to be annulled. To say to China and Turkey to-day: "All rights of missionaries are waived by Great Britain and America; you can do what you please with them," is not to leave the missionaries where they would be if governments had never concerned themselves with them, and if they had always been and were entirely dissociated from all political relationships.

And what are the reasons proposed for such a course? It is said that the missionary is not like other foreigners, that he is a disturber and source of sedition, that the people do not want him, but are desirous of receiving the trader, that religion and its activities are not, like trade, a matter of government cognisance. The missionary, thank God, is different from some foreigners, but the difference between him and other decent foreigners is much less than the difference between the various types of merchants and consuls who go to the non-Christian nations. He is a disturber of what is evil and unjust in native customs and in Western morals, but he is an element of good-will and common understanding wherever he lives. Opium, rum, dishonest trade, high-handed diplomacy, commercial piracy have made a million times more disturbance and sedition. The missionary is the most popular foreigner in any land to which he goes. He makes more friends for himself and for his nation. He has never been forced on one country by war as trade has been. And the introduction of trade has religious results as real, if not as adequate, as the work of missionaries. We deceive ourselves if we think that we do not interfere with the Eastern religions except through our missionaries. In the East all life is permeated by religious ideas, and whatever touches the life of the East or of Africa at all affects its religious conceptions. The first trolley cars in Seoul were mobbed because they offended the deities and caused a drought. The first cars in Bangkok were worshipped by multitudes. All our contact with the non-Christian world recognised as politically legitimate is religiously destructive. Are we to be free only to tear down, and is the one agency by which we seek to replace what we are destroying to be outlawed? Are we to be free to spread

our diseases over the world, but not to heal them; to teach the nations that their wisdom is false, but not where the true wisdom is to be found?

Waiving the missionary point of view and regarding the matter wholly from the side of politics, I believe that the missionary enterprise is the most legitimate utterance of the West to the East, and that if governments have any right whatever to deal with other governments, they have a right and duty to deal with them in behalf of the best and most unselfish activities of their people. The people of the West will never take any other view. The proposal to separate missionaries and to delegalise their undertaking is wasted breath. The sentiment of the Western people will always be what it has always been since the missionary duty reached its conscience. Earl Granville expressed it in his letter to Mr. Wade, the British minister to China in 1871: "It is the duty of a missionary, as of every other British subject, to avoid giving offence as far as possible to the Chinese authorities or people, but he does not forfeit the rights to which he is entitled under the treaty as a British subject because of his missionary character," and he closed his letter with an assertion of Her Majesty's Government's declination to supplement existing treaties by regulations designed to deal with missionaries alone." (Correspondence respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government of February 9, 1871, relating to missionaries. China, No. 1, 1872, pp. 19, 20.) The missionaries are citizens of their nations, and wherever they go have the rights and duties of such citizens.

But there remains the other question as to what missionaries should do with their political rights. There have not been wanting missionaries who have held that they should be entirely waived. Wilmot Brooke and Alfred Robinson laid this down as one of their principles in their short-lived mission to the Soudan twenty years ago: "As the missionaries enter the Moslem states under the necessity of violating the law of Islam, which forbids any one to endeavour to turn Moslems to Christ, they could not under any circumstances ask for British intervention to extricate them from the dangers which they thus call down upon

themselves. But also for the sake of the natives who have to be urged to bear the wrath of men for Christ's sake, it is necessary that the missionaries should themselves take the lead in facing these dangers, and should in every possible way make it clear to all that they do not desire to shelter themselves as British subjects, from the liabilities of perils which would attach to Christian converts from Mohammedanism in the Soudan. They will therefore voluntarily lay aside all claim to protection as British subjects, and place themselves, while outside British territory, under the authority of the native rulers."

And Dr. M. H. Houston, one of the most devoted missionaries in China, for some years also Secretary of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (South), argued for this principle in the case of missionaries in China in a paper on "Appeals for Redress" in the *Chinese Recorder* of February, 1906: "Should the Government of the United States forbid its citizens to go as missionaries to China, would we obey? Should this Government order all its citizens now working here as missionaries to leave the field, would we depart? Not at all. And now, if the missionary is called to work and to speak independently of the civil power, is it fair, is it just, when he finds himself in distress, to call in the aid of this power? And if he considers himself under the protection of this power, and does call on it for aid, is he not then bound in honour to listen to its voice when it bids him restrict his movements in the field? . . . Now, is it well for a missionary to have his movements restrained by a consul? If the right to restrict be conceded, who can tell how far it will extend? And yet, if the missionary invoke consular aid, is he not bound in honour to heed the consular voice? . . . Now, suppose that every missionary in China should resolve that henceforth, under no circumstances, will he appeal to any earthly government. He teaches men everywhere to be subject to the powers that be. He prays always for kings and for all in authority. But he will bring before them no request for protection or aid. If his persecutions are not too great, he will bear them. If they threaten too much, he will flee. If his

property is destroyed, he will take joyfully the spoiling of his goods in view of his heavenly treasure, and no representation of the case shall be made to ministers or consul. If he is killed, his comrades will bury him as 'devout men carried Stephen to his burial,' and they will do no more." Such a course of action, Dr. Houston argued, would enlist the sympathy of diplomats and statesmen who would be relieved of annoyance on account of missionaries, would restore missions to their apostolic character, would have a salutary effect upon native Christians, now injured by appeals in their behalf to the civil power, would open new doors of work and access, and would result in the dropping of various impedimenta now weighing on the mission work and in the accession of more heroic missionaries.

This view is by no means as simple as it appears. (1) It ignores the fact that missionaries are citizens, that they cannot divest themselves of their civil rights and duties by going abroad, and that they do owe a debt to their own government and are bound at least to consider consular advice. Dr. Houston would teach men everywhere to be subject to the powers that be—that must mean, in the case of the missionary, a just consideration of his political duties. (2) It overlooks the fact that governments have duties which they cannot ignore. A government may not permit injustice and contempt for treaty obligation, however willing its citizens may be to accept such hardships. "A citizen himself," said Mr. Taft in his Presidential message, December, 1909, "cannot by contract or otherwise divest himself of the right, nor can this Government escape the obligation, of his protection in his personal and property rights when these are unjustly infringed in a foreign country." (3) The proposed course imperils all foreigners. The missionary is bound to do his duty, but he is also to consider in the determination of his duty the rights of others and the effect of his course of action upon them. For him to announce that treaty obligations as they affect him may be overridden with impunity is to create a peril for others whom he has no right to endanger. (4) Citizenship abroad is no more unChristian than citizenship at home. If it is right for a man to enjoy the protection and immunities

of good government while in his own land, it is not wrong for him to do so in other lands. The renunciation of political rights in foreign missionary work is no more a Christian duty than their renunciation in Christian work at home. This view rests on an inadequate conception of the place of the state in the divine organisation of society. It is not by the Church alone that God educates and governs men. The family and the state are divine institutions, as well as the Church. Government is ordained of God, and it is ordained of God to do right and to prevent wrong. The missionary enterprise cannot commit itself to a vicious and atheistic theory of government. The nation is bound to fulfil its obligations of protection to every citizen, even the most unselfish. (6) The course of the apostle Paul, usually appealed to as justifying a renunciation by the missionary of his political rights, proves precisely the opposite. Inside the Roman Empire he again and again made use of his political prerogatives. Under the principle of extra-territoriality, and it is only when that principle prevails, practically, that Dr. Houston's problem arises, the missionary is under the jurisdiction of his own government and within its protection, just as Paul was in the Roman Empire, and if he avails himself of that protection, is doing just what Paul did. And in other lands a missionary does not do otherwise than we believe Paul would do to-day, when he remembers his nationality and the rights and duties which it involves. (7) A man cannot in this way expatriate himself and become a nationless man. It is not Christian that he should. He has a land and a flag which demand an allegiance of him and hold their privilege over him. (8) And lastly, the missionary aim does not require of the men who seek to realise it that they should be men without a country. It only requires that they should use their nationality and all that it involves in such a way as to advance and not to retard the realisation of their aim. In the possession and enjoyment of political rights there is nothing essentially inconsistent with this aim.

But if we cannot accept the principle that missionaries should waive all political rights, a principle which is impossible because

whatever missionaries might propose they are citizens still and cannot escape their civil responsibilities, we cannot, on the other hand, accept the view that the possession of rights necessitates or justifies their exercise to the full limit. As Woolsey says in his "Political Science," "Rights may be waived. The very nature of a right implies that the subject of it decides whether he shall exercise it or not in a particular case." Here at home no Christian thinks of demanding all his rights. The mark of a Christian is the renunciation of rights. This was the principle of the Incarnation of the Son of God, Who, though He was on an equality with God, counted not His right of equality as a thing to be retained, but emptied Himself and took on Him the form of a servant. On this same principle the missionary enterprise proceeds. "It is dangerous for us," writes Dr. John Ross of Manchuria, "to demand always what we call 'treaty rights' —rights under treaties extorted from China. Better to quietly endure many a wrong than assist by ever claiming our 'rights' to deepen the sense of irritation given by our presence in China. Where and when that endurance should end must be left to individual conscience."

And yet not entirely so, for the determining element in the decision must be the missionary aim. Missionaries are citizens and have certain rights and duties, and the way they will act will be governed, not by their personal interest, but by the dominating aim of their lives and of their enterprise. The missionary movement insists on the legitimacy of its character, on the full responsibility of governments toward all their citizens, on the possession by missionaries of full civil privileges, and on the principle of self-renunciation in all who are concerned in the movement, by which all rights are viewed in their relation to the mission aim, and are waived or exercised as the interests of that aim require. What will best tend to make Christ known? What will contribute most to the development of an indigenous Church? What will soonest make a home for Christianity in the national life? These are the questions which must be asked. They are not easy to answer, but it is foolish to think that the problem can be settled by some simple legalistic

rule. Mistakes will be made in trying to answer these questions, but God will overrule these, and an honest effort to apply the principles involved in the aim of missions will carry us further toward the goal than the adoption of any arbitrary and unwarrantable statute.

It is questioned by some whether the aim of missions is inconsistent with demands for punishment, with requests for indemnity, with appeals for military interference or support, with all use of physical force. It is clear to some that it is right for a man to tell his government such facts as it should know in order to determine its duty. The presumption is certainly against all the other things, but men must judge each case alone, and it is safer that they should not be alone in judging it. As a matter of fact, an insignificantly small number of missionaries have ever done anything of the sort or made any representation of any kind, either to their own consuls or to native officials. "The Principles and Practice" of the China Inland Mission expresses the actual practice and the accepted principles of all missionaries: "Too great caution cannot be exercised by all missionaries residing or journeying inland to avoid difficulties and complications with the people, and especially with the authorities. Every member of the mission must understand that he goes out depending for help and protection on the living God, and not relying on an arm of flesh. Appeals to consuls or to Chinese officials to procure the punishment of offenders, or to demand the vindication of real or supposed rights, or for indemnification for losses, are to be avoided. Should trouble or persecution arise inland, a friendly representation may be made to the local Chinese officials. . . . Under no circumstances may any missionary on his own responsibility make any written appeal to the British or other foreign authorities. . . . Great respect must be shown to all in authority, and must also be manifest in speaking of them, as is required by the Word of God. Where prolonged stay in a city is likely to cause trouble, it is better to journey onward, and where residence cannot be peaceably and safely effected to retire and give up or defer the attempt. . . . God will open more doors than we can enter and occupy. In conclusion, the weapons of our

warfare must be practically recognised as spiritual and not carnal."

There remain, however, three great questions which are not covered by such a general statement. The first is the question of the exercise by missionaries of the right of extra-territoriality, the second is the question of the protection of native converts, and the third the vital question of the effect upon the purity and vitality of the mission movement of its confusion with politics and Western civilisation.

A recent writer in one of our best known reviews, Mr. Richard Weightman, in the *North American Review,* has raised a question which is phrased also in an editorial in the Washington *Post* (June 24, 1906), on which Mr. Weightman is an editorial writer, "Whether we can reasonably expect to establish in China and Turkey that basis of good-will and sympathy upon which alone a permanent and profitable commerce may be founded, so long as our Government identifies itself officially with the missionary propaganda." This identification consists in the extension of the rights of extra-territoriality to missionaries. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* has taken up the same question in an article on "Christianity in China." "The situation," he says, "is summed up in the phrase 'extra-territoriality,' and it may safely be said that no religion was ever presented to a people under such peculiar conditions." "The legal status of European missionaries," he adds, "has been that of superiority to the laws of the country whose hospitality they have enjoyed and whose ancient customs they have attacked not infrequently with imprudence. It is not necessary to dwell on the mistakes of individuals, since it is evident that the whole position was one which could not fail to rouse the deepest resentment in a people so proud as the Chinese." The editorial in the *Post* declares: "What the nation really wants of the so-called pagans is their trade, and incidentally their money, and it is now very clear that in order to attain that consummation we shall have to treat them decently, and at least with common consideration, whether we feel it or not. . . . It is quite evident that we cannot evangelise and sell our goods to them at

the same time. We have to take one way or the other, and that without much procrastination." All of which is merely a good illustration of the absurd ignorance of facts and of life on the part of newspaper writers. A good part of our trade with China we owe to missionary work, and the American people have larger and more genuine interest in China than is credited to them by the Washington *Post*. The particular suggestion of the two review writers is not much more sensible. The exemption of the citizens or subjects of Christian nations from the jurisdiction of Turkey, Persia, Tibet, China, and Siam, and formerly of Japan also, was due to the fact that these countries had, and in the case of the first four have now, neither "the restraints of a constitution nor an orderly administration of justice and law." The conditions in these lands make it impossible to subject foreigners to their jurisdiction. There are no true courts, no suitable prisons, no fair codes of law, no provision for the just trial of offences. There are bribery, oppression, absolutism, injustice, which it is shameful enough that their own people must endure. The Christian nations have always refused to hand over their subjects to such iniquities. It is true that the nations have been restive under the system, but the remedy is in their own hands. When Japan had reformed her courts, her prisons, and her codes, the Christian nations surrendered the rights they had reserved. They will gladly do the same with the other nations when they have been duly reformed. Meanwhile, the Western nations can no more separate missionaries from other foreigners in China than they can in Japan or in Africa, although the missionaries are the last foreigners to be likely to fall into Chinese courts and prisons and to need the protection of their governments for crimes against Chinese laws. The Chinese Government in 1871 desired a withdrawal from the missionaries of the right of extra-territoriality when they went beyond the places open to trade where foreign consuls resided. The American Minister, Mr. Low, wrote to his Government disapproving any action by it consenting to the Chinese suggestions. "Neither will sound policy," he wrote, "nor the moral and religious sentiments of Christian

nations, sanction any retrogression, although trade and commerce might be promoted thereby; nor will the dictates of humanity permit the renunciation of the right for all foreigners that they shall be governed and punished by their own laws."—(Letter, FREDERICK J. LOW to MR. FISH, March 20, 1871.) The American Government replied to Mr. Low that the idea of curtailing the rights of the missionaries "cannot be entertained for one moment by the United States."—(Letter, J. C. B. DAVIS to MR. LOW, October 19, 1871.) The right of jurisdiction on the part of a Christian nation over one class of its citizens in China and Turkey and Persia cannot be waived; it is neither right nor possible to waive it, until it is waived for all. And neither the individual missionary nor the enterprise can repudiate the right and duty of a Western government to such jurisdiction. This, however, may be safely said, that the missionary will be the first Westerner to be willing to relinquish his extra-territorial rights and to pass under the jurisdiction of a reformed China or Turkey or Persia. As Dr. Verbeck was the first to seek in Japan, as he, a man without a nationality, could do, the protection of Japanese law, before the new treaties surrendering the system of extra-territoriality had gone into effect, so now in Siam and everywhere the missionaries will be the first to welcome, as they have been the most ardent to desire, the full assumption by the Asiatic nations of the sovereignty of equal states.

That the missionary is politically an alien is not a wrong thing in itself, and it is not detrimental to his mission. He is not and cannot be other than what he is—a man of his own nationality. To remain such does not prejudice his success. His business is not to merge separate races or nationalities, but to give his burden to a body of men within the nation to which he has come. If his spirit is the spirit of love, his foreign nationality ought to make it easier for him to build up an independent, national consciousness and sense of autonomy in the Church which it is his aim to found.

The second and more difficult problem is the problem of the protection of native Christians from persecution or punishment

on the ground of their Christianity. No one has ever argued that Christian nations should interfere on behalf of native Christians to save them from the consequences of evil doing, but the question has long been before men as to the duties of Christian nations toward native Christians when their sole offence was their Christian faith, or when their faith was made the basis of partial treatment or discrimination.

In China the question has been for a century a living question. When Robert Morrison began his work, foreign intercourse and the foreign religion were illicit things, and although the Opium War opened certain points both to merchant and missionary, foreigners of all kinds were forbidden to enter the country beyond the limits specified, and the religion which the foreigners brought was subject to the national dislike of all that was foreign. It was felt by S. Wells Williams, accordingly, and by the other Christian men who were associated with the negotiators of the treaties with China after the Arrow War, that it would be a right and wise thing to secure for Christianity an explicit toleration in the new treaties, and to include under their toleration not the foreign teachers of Christianity alone, but also the natives of China who might accept it and seek to propagate it. The toleration clause in the American treaty of 1860 was as follows:

"The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

This clause was not extorted from the Chinese commissioners or forced upon them. Dr. Williams wrote in New Haven, in 1878, a clear and authoritative statement of how he came to draft the article and the Chinese to accept it:

As the matter of the "Toleration Clauses" in the treaties of 1858 has become one of general interest in the mission body of China, I regret that the statement concerning it in the report of the [first missionary] Shanghai Conference should not have been more accurate. The toleration of Christianity was not brought forward by the Chinese commissioners in any shape, for it was a point upon which they were wholly ignorant as a religious question. The Russian Minister was the first to formulate an article on this subject, and in the discussion which ensued as to his draft of a treaty presented to the Chinese officials, they are said to have expressed their willingness to allow missionaries to travel through the country, inasmuch as these could usually speak the language; they opposed a like permission to merchants, who could not do so, as this ignorance was sure to breed trouble. These officials knew the Russian priests in Peking to be quiet, industrious men, and were doubtless willing enough to admit them to further privileges, but they could give no opinion on the general toleration of Christianity, for they knew practically nothing of its peculiar tenets.

The next day I got the Chinese text of this article and drew up a similar one for the United States treaty, leaving out the proviso that a "certain number of missionaries" would be allowed, and inserting the two names of Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, so as to bring the former distinctly before them as not the same as the Roman and Greek Churches; it was otherwise different in phraseology but not in spirit. The night before the treaty was signed, a note was sent from the Chinese, rejecting this article altogether, on the ground that Protestant missionaries had their families with them, and must be restricted to the open ports; the inference was therefore pretty plain that the novelty of foreign women travelling about the country had presented itself to their minds as an objection to allowing Americans to preach Christianity. As soon as I could do so I drew up another form of the same article, and started off next morning to lay it before the Imperial Commissioners. It was quite the same article as before, but they accepted it without any further discussion or alteration; however, the word "whoever" in my English version was altered by Mr. Reed to "any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who"—because he wished every part of the treaty to refer to United States citizens, and cared not very much whether it had a toleration article or not. I did care, and was thankful to God that it was inserted. It is the only treaty in existence which contains the royal law. I have always regarded the present

article as better than the discarded one; that in the British treaty was abridged from it, and I understood at the time that it would not have been inserted if ours had not contained such a clause. It must be said, moreover, that if the Chinese had at all comprehended what was involved in these four toleration articles, they would never have signed one of them. In the "Chinese Repository" you will find a partial toleration of our religion by the Emperor Taokwang, but this was only a rescript and did not carry with it the weight of a treaty, and during the fourteen years which had intervened since its promulgation it had pretty much lost its effect.

I could never ascertain who had a hand in causing the rejection of my first form of the article, but think that it was some one connected with the French legation. The harsh and unjust criticisms of some persons on these articles in 1860 was only the beginning of the pulling and hauling they have since received; but it is much easier to find fault and overthrow than to improve and build up. Though Christianity does not depend upon treaties for its progress and power, these articles have proved to be a check upon the native officials, who have been taught therein not to destroy what they did not approve. I thank God that the Imperial Government was thereby bound not to become a persecuting government, as it has more than once since wished to be.

Williams never regretted his action in the matter. Twenty years after the adoption of the treaties he wrote:

The articles in the treaties with China granting toleration to those who preach and those who accept the doctrines of the Bible, and allowing the public exercise of their faith, have already proved to be a great protection to the growing Church. It is one of those milestones of progress which indicate the advance made, and guide that advance further on to the consummation of the Christianisation of the whole land. The difficulty of convincing the converts that the degree of toleration granted does not release them from their allegiance to their own rulers, has been increased of late years by a kind of semi-protection claimed by Roman Catholic priests to appear before the rulers in cases of oppression of their neophytes. There is, indeed, no caste to warn people off from its peculiar enclosure nor state hierarchy or bigoted priesthood to forcibly prevent members from leaving it, but hindrances to the promulgation of the Gospel are to be expected as the renovating, reorganising nature of its

doctrines are better understood, and the rights of conscience are more strongly asserted. It is a cause of great thankfulness that the progress of the faith has been attended with so few drawbacks, persecutions, and causes of just complaint from either party. Three Protestant converts have already yielded up their lives rather than deny their Master; and others have suffered the loss of all things at the hands of their countrymen. The reputation of these converts has generally been good as members of society. I was once talking with Wansiang, the premier, respecting them, and told him that I had never known of a member of the *Yesu kiao* having been condemned before the native courts for any crime, and he said he had not heard of a case.

No aspect of missionary work in China, however, has called forth more discussion and criticism from friend and foe of mission work. Foes have asserted that on the basis of this clause missionaries have removed native Christians from the jurisdiction of Chinese courts, all offences of such Christians being covered by the allegation of persecution. "Suppose," says Sir Hiram Maxim, a zealous antagonist of missions, "a Chinese priest should visit England and the United States, and it should become known that every burglar, pickpocket, and thief could, by becoming a Buddhist, shield himself from arrest by the police, how long would the English or American people submit to such a state of affairs?"—(*Harper's Weekly*, September 16, 1905.) Friends of missions have spoken carefully, but strongly on the subject. The Congregational deputation to China, in its special report on China to the Prudential Committee of the American Board in 1907, declares its conviction that the toleration clause was unwise and injurious in its effect. It says:

The treaties between China and the Western nations gave a degree of foreign protection to Chinese converts to Christianity. This established a state of things unlike that prevailing in any other country which has been the field of foreign missionary endeavour. It is now generally conceded that this clause in the treaties was wholly unwise, and in the end has been most injurious to the progress of Christianity in China. It has thrown great temptation in the way of the missionaries and of the Chinese people themselves. It has led the latter, in some cases,

to pretend conversion for the sake of personal advantage. The missionary on his part has been led to confuse his office as a teacher of religion with that of the representative of a foreign political power. It has led to constant deception on the part of the Chinese and to repeated interventions on the part of missionaries between the Chinese Government and its lawful subjects. It has been taken advantage of by foreign powers in the most flagrant fashion for the furthering of their schemes for territorial aggrandisement. It is a just cause of constant and increasing irritation on the part of the Chinese Government and people toward the missionaries. It has caused an endeavour which should have no aim but the teaching of pure religion to be confounded in the minds of many Chinese with the political schemes of the so-called Christian nations. It is at present by far the greatest ground of reproach in China against Christian missionaries.

In this respect, the Roman Catholic missionaries have been the greatest offenders. France, until the recent disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church in that country, has been the nation most active in the protection of Chinese converts. A statement issued in the late spring of this year by the Governor-General of Peking and others high in authority, over their own signature, confirms this assertion with the greatest definiteness. But it is deplorable that Protestant missionaries ever permitted themselves to be led into a like error. The way was thus opened for the interpretation of any lawsuit of which a Chinese Christian might be a party in the light of a case of religious persecution. It is true that a great majority of our missionaries discountenance this practice. The sentiment prevails throughout our missions that it is high time that intervention of any sort on the part of missionaries in cases involving the relations of Chinese subjects to the court or to their government should be altogether discontinued.

Some of the best missionaries in China, while seeing clearly the abuses and misunderstandings which have grown up, are not clear that the assertion by treaty of the principle of toleration was wholly unwise and injurious. Dr. Gibson has dealt carefully with the subject in "Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China":

In the treaties agreed to between China and Western powers, distinct reference was made to the subject of Christianity, and

it was provided that under these treaties there should be complete freedom for the propagation or practice of Christianity, both on the part of natives and foreigners. This provision, as well as the natural attitude always maintained by the Chinese Government towards differing religions, has secured for us marvellous freedom in preaching Christianity in all parts of China; and not only in the treaty ports, where foreign residence is sanctioned, but in all the cities, towns, and country districts of the Empire, native preachers and foreign missionaries alike have complete freedom in preaching the Gospel and gathering Christian worshippers; a freedom, perhaps, which is more complete than that which is enjoyed in any other part of the globe. Now it is under such conditions as these I have described that the Christian religion has been preached and the Christian Church planted in China, and many complicated results have grown out of this situation.

The toleration clause of the treaties runs as follows: "The religions of the Lord of heaven and of Jesus teach men to practise virtue, and to do to others as men would be done by, and all persons shall be free to preach and practise these religions without molestation or interference." This seems to secure the right, on the one hand, of missionaries to preach Christianity, and the right, on the other, of Chinese converts to follow their teaching. But these rights are not precisely defined, nor is any definite provision made for securing them; but since the clause formed part of an international arrangement regulating the respective rights of Chinese and foreigners in their relations with each other, it seemed to give the missionary the right, enjoyed in other spheres by the merchant, of appealing to his consul in all cases where the treaty was violated. In this way the missionary was constituted in some sense the natural protector of the right of religious toleration conceded to Chinese subjects by their own government.

It is no easy task to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of this arrangement. We are profoundly thankful to God that in His providence we have had secured, to the fullest, recognition of our right to preach the Gospel throughout the Empire, and to enjoy the protection of the law for life and property in doing so. We are not less thankful that the Church, in the days of its weakness and inexperience, is spared the ordeal of fiery persecution by a hostile and determined government. It is a marvellous thing that every Chinese subject who hears the Gospel, under the peace established by the treaties, has his rights recognised to worship God according to his conscience.

In this way the Church has been to a large extent sheltered during its years of weakness, and the time has been given for its growth in numbers, in influence, and what is more important, in intelligent comprehension of the truth, and in the faith and courage which spring from enlarged experience of the Christian life.

But these great gains are not without their drawbacks. In India it seems undoubtedly an evil that, notwithstanding the official neutrality of the British Government, it yet inevitably appears to the native mind that Christianity comes among them backed by all the authority and influence of the ruling power. The Hindu hearer of the Gospel, belonging to a race that is naturally weak and pliant as compared with the sturdy independence of the Chinese, sees that the keys of advancement and the springs of power are in Christian hands, and he is tempted to seek favour by compliance with the religion of his superiors, while the stronger minds may be driven all the more to hold aloof. In China it is a distinct advantage that those who profess Christianity know well that they will not ingratiate themselves with the Government by doing so. The new religion is preached by despised aliens, and those who follow it incur a kind of social ostracism by connecting themselves with it. This tends to deter the insincere and secure the purity of the Church.

It is, therefore, an undeniable disadvantage that another set of ideas has been fostered by the treaty arrangements. The ill-defined right of toleration is enjoyed by the Christians under pressure from foreign governments. They thus appear to stand apart from the bulk of their fellow-countrymen, and to be under a foreign protectorate.

But Dr. Gibson's mature judgment is in favour of the "Toleration Clause." In his report as Chairman of the Commission on "The Chinese Church" he said at the China Centenary Missionary Conference:

With regard to the question whether any action should be taken by missionaries for the protection of converts, two views are held. Some argue that they should be taught to look for Divine protection, while the missionary declines to give any aid. This appears to me to resemble too closely the action condemned in James ii: 15, 16, to be a safe rule of action. It is true that God can give, and does give, protection to His own, but it by

no means follows that He forbids the missionary to be His agent or minister. We do not refuse to give food to a Christian in time of famine on the ground that God will care for His own, and that the righteous will not be left to beg his bread. On the contrary, if we believe that protection from persecution lies within the purposes of God's providence, it is extremely probable that we are the agents through whom He will give it. I have no doubt that there are cases in which we shall fail of our duty if we do not seek to save Christian people from lawless violence. The difficulty is to distinguish which are the cases in which we ought to interfere, and here we cannot be too cautious. We should remember in every instance that when we have learned all we possibly can, we have never heard quite the whole story, and should practise caution and reserve in stating our case. We should also remember that by soliciting official interference it is possible that we may aggravate a temporary difference into a permanent hostility, and may only smooth the path of one for the moment at the cost of permanently hardening a whole clan or village against the Gospel. If we can once establish a character for fairness and integrity, it will often be possible to have cases of "persecution" settled in a friendly and therefore most effective way by the intervention of disinterested persons in the neighbourhood. When this can be done, much is gained in every way.

But with the utmost care there will still be cases in which we must appeal to the officials. On this many hard things have been said against us by statesmen and public writers. We are accused of establishing a "protectorate over mission converts." In reply to this it is enough to make two remarks.

(1) We do not try to create a foreign protectorate outside of the Chinese law for Christians. We only ask that they should not be outlawed. It is not we but our opponents and critics who forget that Christian Chinese are still Chinese subjects. The mandarins forget and sometimes furiously deny this, and we are bound to remind them of it. The "protection" we seek to procure for converts is the protection of the Chinese law. Both we and our critics must remember that we do not even ask for "justice," *i.e.*, for justice after the high standards of the West, for our converts. We only ask that they should receive the same kind of justice or injustice, or quaint blend of the two, which the Chinese subjects are able to procure from their tribunals.

(2) The remedy for "missionary cases" does not lie in further restrictions upon missionaries or Chinese Christians, but

in the impartial enforcement of the common law by the mandarins without prejudice or partiality on the ground of religion.

It is certain that the Chinese officials have been greatly troubled in mind over the outworkings of the toleration clause. Their main troubles have come from the Roman Catholic missionaries, who have sought and used a political status also offered to and openly renounced by the Protestant missionaries, but it is true also that some Protestant missionaries have interfered in Chinese courts in behalf of Christians, although the practice has not been general and the interference has in almost every case, if not in every one, been because the missionary was convinced that the trouble was one of direct or indirect persecution. Dr. Bergen of the Shantung Province reported some years ago that he had asked 73 missionaries as to their practice and had found that 25 had never interfered in litigation at all and 48 had not applied for aid to the Chinese officials more than three times each. The Chinese officials as a rule, however, would be glad to have such intervention entirely cease. As one Chinese writes: "Notwithstanding the outward—perhaps real, in some cases—kindly disposition of the Chinese officials towards the missionaries of late years, they as a class still consider the latter as unavoidable evils, whom they must try to tolerate with as minimum sufferings and damages as possible. An official in being appointed to a certain place nowadays first of all inquires not about the 'temper of the people,' but whether that place has had any 'missionary cases' before, and if so, he must think that he has got into a bad and difficult position." —(*China's Young Men,* April, 1905, Art. "The Missionary Question," p. 24.) And Viceroy Tuan Fang in New York requested the missionary societies to change "advise against" to "forbid" in their instructions to their missionaries in China, discountenancing interference in any native litigation whatever.

The question involved, however, is a much larger one than this. The great issue is, should Christian nations seek to secure the recognition by the non-Christian nations of the principle of religious toleration? If they regard this as their duty, and do se-

cure the acceptance of this principle in treaty stipulations, will the results be injurious to the missionary enterprise? If toleration clauses are inserted in treaties, how can the possibilities of evil be escaped, and what should be the policy of missionaries toward the duties which such treaty stipulations create? It is clear that if such stipulations are entered into, they should cover simply the essential principle of toleration, and those abuses by which evil men take shelter in the Church to secure an immunity from merited punishment should be avoided. The language of the new American treaty of 1903, already quoted, defines the proper limits and precautions. It might have been well, some would say, to have incorporated such language in the treaty of 1860. It was impossible. No one had sufficient foresight, but perhaps the treaty of 1903 would never have been if the treaty of 1860 had not been first. It is possible now to define the rights of Chinese Christians by treaty, because in 1860 the right of a Chinese Christianity was secured.

The fact, however, that these rights of Chinese Christians are secured by a foreign treaty leaves with the foreign government and those on whom it must depend for its knowledge of facts responsibilities which are full of danger, but which cannot on that account be ignored. "It will undoubtedly simplify the missionary's course in many cases," says Dr. Gibson, "to have an unalterable rule that he will on no consideration appeal to the foreign consul or native mandarin for the protection of Christian converts; but solutions of such extreme simplicity are seldom the right ones. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the fact that we are members of a nation whose Christian civilisation and history have given it, in common with other Christian nations, an enormous amount of power and influence. The Chinese Government, under pressure of this power, has recognised what is in itself absolutely and indisputably true, that all men, and the Chinese like others, have an inalienable right to follow the truth and to worship God without interference or persecution. In the providence of God we have, willingly or unwillingly, become to the Chinese the asserters and representatives of this undeniable principle. It is impossible for us to

divest ourselves of this character and to assume that of the earliest preachers of Christianity, when it was a proscribed faith with neither wealth nor worldly influence behind it, still upon its trial and facing without support the whole strength of the civilised world."

But there are those who question the wisdom of making religious toleration a matter of government action. But why? We hold now that each government for itself should establish the principle of religious liberty as a constitutional right of its people. Well, these people are going all over the world. Are they not to enjoy wherever they go their religious freedom? How are they to do it unless in each land to which they go their government follows them with the protection of its extra-territorial jurisdiction, or unless in each land the principle of toleration prevails? How is it to be brought to prevail in these lands, save by international influence? And this right of religious freedom ought to belong to every man, not to Scotchmen and Americans in China and Turkey, but to Chinese and Turks also, not only when they come to Scotland and America, but when they are at home in their own lands. We believe that this proposition should be laid down unequivocally, that it is the duty of the enlightened and free nations to secure the recognition of the right of religious freedom universally. Mr. Roosevelt held this view. "This administration," he declared in 1904, in his letter of acceptance of his renomination to the Presidency of the United States, "has on all proper occasions given clear expression to the belief of the American people that discrimination and oppression because of religion, wherever practised, are acts of injustice before God and man; and in making evident to the world the depth of American conviction in this regard, we have gone to the very limit of diplomatic usage." Governments have again and again intervened to prevent oppression and injustice. Europe interfered in Bulgaria. It was Europe's shame that she did not interfere in Armenia. America interfered in Cuba. Great Britain interfered in Burmah. If it is right to go to war to prevent injustice, it is right to seek to prevent it in advance by peaceful treaty agreements. Religious

intolerance and persecution are wrongs before God and man. It is the duty of Christian nations to forestall and terminate such wrongs. They do what it is right to do, what it would be wrong not to do, in securing for all men the benefits of full religious toleration. And that involves on their part action in some such form as was taken in the case of China. When it was clear that there would be religious intolerance and persecution the Western nations did what they could to guard against such wrongs. The necessary form of action was a treaty guarantee of toleration in the case of the religion for which they had a sense of responsibility, and which was likely to be the victim.

"It might, perhaps, be arguable," said the *Spectator* some years ago, "that missionaries in China could not claim the protection of England, supposing they were breaking the law of the land by teaching Christianity. Personally, we hold that there is a good deal to be said for the opinion that they should be protected even in that case, or in other words, that no Christian state should recognise the right of a semi-civilised power to exclude the entry of Christianity." This is only a corollary of the general principle which I have suggested, namely, that governments are right in taking action in behalf of complete religious toleration.

The United States made representation in this view to Japan in the years before Japan had embodied the principle of toleration in a constitution. When the country was opened to foreigners, "it appeared," as Mr. Foster says, "that, notwithstanding the severe measures which had been adopted in the seventeenth century for the suppression of the 'evil sect,' a considerable body of native Christians—numbering several thousand—had secretly kept their faith, and the changed condition of the country emboldened them to make themselves known. This awakened the hostility of the government, and a proclamation was issued by the Emperor reviving the ancient prohibitive decrees. The matter came to the notice of the American Minister. He convoked his colleagues, and an identic note of protest was agreed upon and sent to the Japanese Government.

"On receipt of the proclamation by Secretary Seward, he replied to Mr. Van Valkenburgh that the President 'regards the proclamation as not merely ill-judged, but as injurious and offensive to the United States and to all other Christian states, and as directly conflicting with the eighth article of the treaty of 1858, and no less in conflict with the tolerating spirit and principles which prevail throughout the world. You are advised, therefore, that the United States cannot acquiesce in or submit to the Mikado's proclamation.' The minister was instructed to bring the matter quietly and in a friendly manner to the attention of the Japanese Government, in view of the civil disturbances, but to 'proceed with firmness and without practising injurious hesitation or accepting any abasing compromise.' The other treaty Powers adopted the same course, but not until after much discussion and delay on the part of the Japanese Government did the persecution cease and were all the prohibitions against Christianity revoked."—(FOSTER, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 200 f.)

Similar representations have been made by the European powers to Turkey. In 1853, when the British and French fleets were in the Turkish waters for the protection of Turkey, "a young man was judicially condemned to death and publicly executed in Adrianople, by the Ottoman authorities, for the crime of having apostatised from Islam to Christianity. He had openly declared that Christ was the true Prophet, and that, having Him, he had no need of Mohammed, who therefore was a false Prophet. He was cast into prison and cruelly tortured to induce him to recant, but in vain. On being beheaded, he exclaimed with his last breath, 'I profess Jesus Christ, and for Him I die.' On September 17, 1855, the Earl of Clarendon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople: 'The Christian Powers, who are making gigantic efforts and submitting to enormous sacrifices, to save the Turkish Empire from ruin and destruction, cannot permit the continuance of a law in Turkey, which is not only a standing insult to them, but a source of cruel persecution to their co-religionists, which they never can

consent to perpetuate by the successes of their fleets and armies. They are entitled to demand, and Her Majesty's Government do distinctly demand, that no punishment whatever shall attach to the Mahometan who becomes a Christian.' The same noble language of Christian patriotism had also been held earlier by the Earl of Aberdeen, who wrote to Sir Stratford Canning on January 16, 1844: 'The Christian Powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it.' The intention was to induce the Porte to renounce and abrogate the law in question. But the spirited correspondence with the Turkish Government, even under those exceptionally favourable circumstances, led to no greater result than that, early in the year 1856, a Memorandum was agreed upon containing these words: 'As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change their religion.' The discovery had been made that the objectionable law, being regarded as invested with a divine character, could not be annulled or abrogated by any human authority whatsoever. Therefore, the British Ambassador considered it best to advise his Government to be content with the aforementioned clause, saying in his despatch to the Earl of Clarendom, dated February 12, 1856: 'The law of the Koran is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultan's ministers affirm that such a stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers. But, however that may be, the practical application of it is renounced by means of a public document, and Her Majesty's Government would at any time be justified in complaining of a breach of engagement if the Porte were to authorise or to permit any exception to its own official declaration.'"—(KOELLE, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 474.)

In the Treaty of Berlin, into which England, Austria, Russia, France, Italy, and Turkey entered in 1878, it is declared in Article 2 that complete religious liberty is to exist in the various

territories mentioned in the preceding article, "including the whole Turkish Empire." The 62d article begins: "The Sublime Porte, having expressed its willingness to maintain the principle of religious liberty and to give it the widest sphere, the contracting parties take cognisance of this spontaneous declaration." The work of the West in this matter is not ended, however. "In spite of the reiterated declarations," says Dr. Barton, "it is evident that the Turkish Government does not and never did intend to acknowledge the right of a Moslem to become a Christian. A high official once told the writer that Turkey gives to all her subjects the widest religious liberty. He said: 'There is the fullest liberty for the Armenian to become a Catholic, for the Greek to become an Armenian, for the Catholics and Armenians to become Greeks, for any one of them to become Protestant, or for all to become Mohammedans. There is the fullest and completest religious liberty for all the subjects of this empire.' In response to the question, 'How about liberty for the Mohammedan to become a Christian?' he replied: 'That is an impossibility in the nature of the case. When one has once accepted Islam and become a follower of the Prophet he cannot change. There is no power on earth that can change him. Whatever he may say or claim cannot alter the fact that he is a Moslem still, and must always be such. It is, therefore, an absurdity to say that a Moslem has the privilege of changing his religion, for to do so is beyond his power.' For the last forty years the actions of the official and influential Turks have borne out this theory of religious liberty in the Ottoman Empire. Every Moslem showing interest in Christian things takes his life in his hands. No protection can be afforded him against the false charges that begin at once to multiply. His only safety lies in flight."—(BARTON, "Daybreak in Turkey," p. 256 ff.)

Now, apart altogether from the interests of the missionary movement, we believe that it is wrong for the Christian nations to allow Turkey to deny to her Moslem subjects the right to become Christians, or to kill men, women, and children as was done in the Armenian massacres, whose only crime was Christ. It may be said in reply that the Turkish Empire is

a Moslem state, and that the conversion of Moslems to Christianity would destroy the character of the state. Undoubtedly it would transform it. But all religions should be free to appeal to men, provided they do not assail the moral axioms of life, as no religion can which will command the assent of men in a free society. And only those institutions ought to be free to endure which can command the loyalty of free men. It is not the duty of the Western nations to annihilate one another's nationality or the nationality of the non-Christian nations, but it is their duty to demand that the human spirit in all lands shall be free to think its own thoughts and pursue its own worship of God.

But now to turn to our last question, it is asked, does not all this confusion of missions and politics, of the duties of governments with the work of Christianity, hopelessly entangle the missionary movement, defile its purity, paralyse its spiritual strength, and frustrate its aim?

We reply, first, that it is inevitable, and as governments improve is certain to increase; second, that it is assuredly fraught with danger and the possibilities of disaster; and third, that it is the confusion of an era of construction in which by diverse and entangled forces God is building His kingdom among men.

It is inevitable. I have already spoken of the impossibility of separating the missionary and his movement from the conditions in which alone they could originate and under which alone they can operate. The missionary movement is inevitable, and stripped as you please to strip it, it remains an effort on the part of Western men to carry a religion which has become domesticated in the West to the East to secure its domestication in life there. The problem is inevitably a problem of man's organised life, that is of politics.

And the confusion will increase because the Western nations are to act increasingly together in a spirit of unselfish service. They are to take over more and more distinctively missionary duties. No one can travel through the great sections of the world neglected and undeveloped by incompetent peoples, without realising the validity of the moral basis on which, as Pro-

fessor Reinsch has said, political expansion is justified by its advocates, even if one doubts whether expansion is the one necessary implication, the claim, namely, "that large portions of the earth's surface are in the hands of nations or tribes who are guilty of an under-development of their natural resources. As the world becomes more and more densely populated,—so runs the argument,—the natural wealth of the remoter regions must be utilised for the benefit of mankind, and if any nation or tribe, by the use of antiquated methods of production, or by total neglect of certain parts of its resources, such as mines or forests, stands in the way of this great need, that nation or tribe must pass under the political power or tutelage of a nation that will draw from the earth the utmost quantity of produce. At any rate, the world must be policed, so that in every part of it investments of capital may be made securely, and so that industrial works may be carried on without annoyance or molestation from the natives. Few nations, however, stop with this demand. Most of them frankly regard the world as the inheritance of the most powerful races, which have a right to replace those that are more barbarous or less well endowed with force of mind and character. An advocate of radical methods of colonisation says: 'It is an inexorable law of progress that inferior races are made for the purpose of serving the superior; and if they refuse to serve, they are fatally condemned to disappear.'"—(REINSCH, "World Politics," p. 11.) In a footnote Professor Reinsch adds the less selfish theory held by German historians like Mommsen, Sybel, Ranke, and Von Holst that the superior nations have the mission to civilise the inferior, if necessary, by force. Without the pressure of a just and peaceful political constraint, Vambery holds, the regeneration of the Moslem world is impossible. The world's interest in itself is to increase steadily, and the relation of politics to the work of missions is to grow more intricate, whether missionaries will or no.

And as the Western nations enter with increasing intimacy and responsibility into the life of other nations, they will increasingly ask themselves, "What are our duties to the nations?

Are they merely governmental or commercial? Have we not intellectual and moral responsibilities also?" And these questions bring these nations and their representatives face to face with their governmental religious responsibility. On this point but two things need be said, each of which will indicate the certainty of increasing relationship between the political and the religious missions of the West to the East. One is that, just as the missionary inevitably has a political message wrapped up in his mission and his Gospel, so the statesman or the merchant has a religious message, which he delivers in spite of himself, for or against Christ and the aim which the missionary serves. The men whom the West sends out will increasingly be men of the best type of the past—men like Townsend Harris, one of the most useful diplomatists of the last century, who records in his diary during the negotiations with Japan which resulted in the treaty of 1858: "I shall be both proud and happy if I can be the humble means of once more opening Japan to the blessed rule of Christianity"; like the Punjab statesmen of the school of the Lawrences, who believed in Christ and openly confessed and served Him. Such men identifying themselves with the missionaries and sympathising with and advancing their aim will further confuse missions and politics. The other point to be noted is that, as light breaks on the difficult problem of Church and State at home, and our governments become in a deeper and more real sense Christian, they will express their Christian character in their relations to other nations. If our governments are purely secular, of course they can have none but a secular message to utter; but if, as we believe, they are or are meant to be in a noble sense religious and Christian, then their Christian character will find utterance as the Christian character of John Lawrence's Government did in the Punjab. In so far as our Western nations become truly Christian and act consistently with their character, the confusion of religion and politics is likely to increase in a way for which we ardently pray.

But the political entanglements of missions with politics have often been, and will continue to be, an embarrassment abroad.

The story of our relations with the backward nations is not all a good story, and we shall not escape "the nemesis," as Professor Moore calls it, "of the connection between the mission work and national ambitions, international complications, and race agitations, commercial exploitations, and what not. . . . In a far higher degree than we really have been responsible for them we shall be complicated in the issues. For, having once, even only in a left-handed way, profited by these, or only not sufficiently rebuked by them, we shall have with our own right hand to pay the bill."—(*Harvard Theological Review,* July, 1908, p. 260.) "So your religion is a part of your Western life?" we are told the Chinese will say to us. "Well, we do not want your civilisation or anything that enters into it." Mr. Dickinson told us this charmingly in his impersonation of "A Chinese Official." Well, we must take whatever comes to us, and for our part we mourn all the wrong and injustice and selfishness and immorality of our relation with Asia and Africa, but we do believe that the missionary movement has protested against these, and we believe also that Asia and Africa make more discrimination than we suppose, and that in the mercy of God the evil that has been done will not be as long remembered as men fear, and that the flareback of the unavoidable connection of missions with politics springing from the real, even if chaotic and contradictory unity of our outward movement, may not be destructive or permanently injurious.

We can leave the consequences of all such confusion to God if our own motive is pure and we cling with loyal fidelity to our distinct aim. If missionaries and their movement by what they are and do act only in love and sacrifice, asking nothing and giving all, if they teach those whom they reach the truth of Christ and to live as the disciples of Christ, if they steadily keep before themselves and the new Churches the great fact that Christianity is not a religion of the missionaries of the West, but that the missionaries of the West are the bearers of a religion that is all men's and every nation's,—then the confusions of which we have spoken, which are either desirable or inevitable, or both, will work out in the end, with whatever

unavoidable patience and pain, the plan of the Eternal One Who governs all. The use of great national forces will be seen to have been part of God's plan. A good man rejoiced in an article in *The Churchman* of September 18, 1900, in the midst of the Boxer troubles, that in the early centuries, " from the days of Nero down," " there were no Christian powers to deflower and degrade the purity of Christianity, and no Christian flag to wrap around and conceal the Cross." But we will rejoice that steadily, though all too slowly, the principles of the Gospel have wrought their way into the life of the world, and that by many agencies, though by none so purely as by the enterprise of foreign missions, itself we recognise so imperfect and incomplete, the new age of true peace and justice comes, that new age which

Stands as yet
Half built against the sky
Open to every threat
Of storms that clamour by.
While scaffolding veils the walls
And dim dust floats and falls
As moving to and fro their tasks the masons ply.

V

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

V

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

THE missionary movement springs from the conviction that Christianity is the universal religion, that it is meant for every man and needed by every man. This conviction involves the belief that Christianity is superior to the non-Christian religions. Some of them claim to be authoritative and sufficient for special peoples, and others claim, like Christianity, to be universal. Christianity contests all these claims when it sets forth on the foreign missionary enterprise, offering itself as better than all other religions for all men and for every man. This contention of Christianity must be reasonably supported. A religion cannot claim to be universal and expect its claim to sustain itself.

Each believer in Christianity must have rational grounds for his faith. If the mere fact that his fathers were Christians, and that Christianity is the prevailing religion in his country, are the reasons for his Christian belief, then he must allow that the Mohammedans and Hindus have equally good reason for rejecting Christianity in favour of their own religions. If he believes in the Bible as the Word of God because it appears to make that claim for itself, and in Christianity because its preachers confidently affirm its truth, then he cannot complain if others urge similar grounds for loyalty to other religions and other sacred books. In early years a child will hold his religion on such grounds as these, and men and women whose lives involve no intellectual problems may believe as children believe. But the great mass of men and women, if they are to believe their religion truly and do its work in the world, must know

why they believe it, independently of tradition and authority. In the Christian lands such knowledge may not necessitate a comparison of Christianity with the other religions of the world. The glory of Christianity is that it offers itself to human experience to be tested, and that it is prepared to present to the mind the grounds in history and in experience and in reason on which its claims to supreme authority rest. It has absolute proofs, which do not require comparison with the contentions of all other religions before they may be accepted. And it has been, and will continue to be, those who personally know God in Christ, and who have such an indisputable experience as well as a rational assurance of the truth of Christianity, who will go out as its missionaries.

But even at home the possibility of cherishing a Christian faith without a comparison of Christianity with other religions becomes less and less. We find that there are adherents of other religions who claim for them the power to satisfy the needs of the soul, and who argue for the validity and sufficiency of their religions as against Christianity. There are many people about us who are disturbed by these claims. We can only assure them rationally. We cannot do so by mere denunciation or denial. Furthermore, what comparison we have thus far made so powerfully confirms our Christian faith that we are sure to make increasing use of the results of the comparative study of religions for the vindication of Christianity in the home lands.

And in the contention that perhaps, after all, our religion is not final, that we have been misled regarding it, as millions of people have been misled regarding other religions; that our historic Christianity, after all, is only a phase, a stage in the religious evolution of humanity, some of us can only assure ourselves, and some of us who are undisturbed by such contentions can only convince others, through the actual study and comparison of all the religious thought and life of man.

In the foreign field, assuredly, the comparison of Christianity with the non-Christian religions is inevitable. It is precisely what the missionary enterprise invites. It cannot expect the

people to whom it goes at once to abandon their own religions and to accept a new one on the mere fiat of the missionaries. What it seeks is intelligent and living faith. That involves the examination of the new and its comparison with the old. The new, indeed, can only be stated intelligibly in language associated with the old, and by the use of ideas created or preserved by the old. Every wise activity of the missionary movement involves a knowledge of the non-Christian religions and of their relations to Christianity. The offer of Christianity to men can only be made effectively by men who have compared it with other religions, and its offer is itself an invitation to set it in such comparison.

The missionary enterprise has made this comparison. The West has only begun to talk of comparative religion during the last generation, but the missionary enterprise has been studying it for a hundred years. It does not pretend to say that it has approached the subject with an empty mind, with no preconceptions. No one can do this, and if any one could he would be utterly disqualified for the study. It is a study of religion. A blind man might as well be set to comparing colours as a man without religion to comparing religions. Missionaries have gone out to the foreign field with the most positive and definite convictions, but they have not been disqualified thereby from studying justly the religious problem. No men have been better qualified. They are the best experts in the world on Christianity, and the love which has carried them on their mission makes them the most sympathetic students of the religions to which they go. Some of them are accused of being intolerant, and they see enough to make them so, but the spirit of the enterprise is the spirit of such men as the late Dr. Faber of China, or of the present Bishop of Lahore. "It is my purpose to investigate scientifically the Chinese religion," wrote Dr. Faber in his "Introduction to the Science of Chinese Religion." "Such an undertaking is different from a description of the religious practices of the present times. Religion has in China, as everywhere, its history. We shall have to trace, as far as possible, every religious practice to its origin, show the connection be-

tween the present and the past, and explain, as far as possible, the symbolical forms from their original ideas, which they too often have only preserved in a petrified state. I, as a missionary, want to understand the religious state and condition of the people I have to deal with." "It has been my effort," writes Bishop Lefroy in speaking of the Mohammedans of Lahore, "to enter as much as possible into their thoughts—understand as intelligently and sympathetically their creed, and look out at least as much for its good side and strong points as for its blots and weaknesses. I need scarcely urge—for it is now becoming generally recognised—that some such attitude as this is alone either worthy of our own faith, based as it is on the true light which lighted every man coming into the world, or in any degree likely to win those for whom we yearn, and enable them to find in Christ the satisfaction of all the deepest needs of their own souls, the way by which they can come home to their Father."—(Cambridge Mission, Occasional Paper No. 21, p. 3.)

It may be said that this attitude of the missionary enterprise is not open-minded and judicial, that for it the issue is already closed, and that its study of the non-Christian religions is merely for the purpose of making its propaganda effective. Most assuredly foreign missions are not an enterprise of enquiry for a true religion, an expression of uncertainty of faith. Missionaries are not hunting for truth which they have not. They are offering truth which they believe they have. They do not regard themselves as omniscient, but they do regard their religion as all-sufficient, and they are seeking to communicate it to all mankind. But this does not incapacitate them for seeing facts. And they and their enterprise know the facts about the non-Christian religions. They know them better than the adherents and teachers of these religions know them. Dr. Barton says that when he was in India "a Hindu high priest was showing him through one of their important temples. An American missionary was in the company. The priest spoke English easily, and was voluble in his talk. Early in his conversation he was describing one of the gods before whom we stood, when the missionary most adroitly and kindly asked him

if he was not confusing the name of the god he was describing with one standing several feet away. He hesitated a moment, said the missionary was right, and then went on correctly. Frequently after that he consulted the missionary openly in regard to an idol, or a legend, or some principle of Hinduism. Quietly he said to the writer during the hour in the temple: 'These missionaries study our religion more thoroughly than the most of us do, and so come to know it much more accurately.'" For most of its knowledge of the non-Christian religions and peoples the West is indebted to missionaries. "I would ask you," wrote Dr. R. E. Hume to Vivakananda, "what body of foreigners understand and sympathise with Indians better than, or as well as, missionaries? What body of foreigners speak the vernacular as well?" It is true that the missionary enterprise represents a judgment already passed upon the issue of comparative religion. We purpose to show now what that judgment is, and that it is reasonable and just, and what in view of it the attitude of the missionary movement to the non-Christian religions should be.

It is to be said, at the outset, that any comparison on which such a judgment rests must be honest and fair. It must not compare what is best in Christianity with what is worst in the non-Christian religions. It must not charge as results of any religion conditions which exist in spite of it. It must be fair in its selection of witnesses. It must appreciate the point of view of the other side. It must get at the facts, and it must face them all. It is preposterous to propose that only the favourable facts are to be considered. Christians especially must be charitable in their judgments of other religions as of other men, but they are false and not charitable if they deliberately leave out some of the facts on which a true judgment must be based. It is especially important that the things to be compared be clearly defined. We have to begin by understanding distinctly just what Christianity is, and just what each of the religions to be compared with it is also. We shall come to the latter before we get through, but what do we mean by Christianity? We do not mean what is called Christian civilisation. So far

as Western civilisation is the product of Christianity it enters into the account, just as Buddhist and Confucianist and Hindu and Mohammedan civilisation enter in, so far, and only so far, as these civilisations or any elements of them are the products of those religions. But we refuse to identify Christianity with Occidental civilisation. We do not mean the creeds and Churches of Christendom, nor its development of doctrine, nor the political powers that are called Christian, nor the social and industrial institutions of Western nations. We mean by Christianity the Christianity of the New Testament. And we understand by that the living offer of the Father God to men in Christ, and that reaffirmation or new revelation of the eternal and universal principles of the Kingdom of God which the New Testament enshrines. That men differ widely as to what all this means and involves goes without saying, but for the purpose of comparing Christianity with the non-Christian religions it is sufficient to set down on the side of Christianity that in which Christian men are agreed. On the other side, we would set the non-Christian religions, likewise essentially defined. Then the contrast must be between these and their effects on the lives of the men who hold them, the society which they control and inspire, and all the fruitage that they bear. In such a comparison, if fully made, we would measure the Christian conception of God, of man, of life, of ethics, of society, of sin, of salvation, of time, and of eternity over against the conceptions of the non-Christian religions; the power and influence of the Christian religion to realise its ideals, to mould life, to perpetuate and propagate itself, over against the power and influence of the other religions, and we would come to results which we can describe only in part, and which pour a new yearning into the missionary motive and run a new resolution as firm as the dutiful will of Christ into the missionary duty.

But before we define these results, we will not conceal from ourselves the fact that many others, either with or without any actual comparison of the world's religions, hold varying views of them.

1. Some few have found this or that Eastern religion more

satisfactory than they found Christianity. Thus Schopenhauer declared his joy and contentment in the Upanishads of Hinduism: "Oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions! In the whole world there is no study except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death."—(Quoted by SUKUMAR HALDAR in "Hinduism," p. 64, described in the advertisement on the cover as "an effectual vindication of Hinduism on the strength (1) of the Hindu shastras and sages, and (2) of the writings of European *savants,* such as Jones, Colebrooke, Max Müller, Schopenhauer, Bjornstjerna, Wilson, Elphinstone, Heeren, Tod, Niebuhr, Muir, Arnold, Pococke, Maurice, Ward, Kennedy, Schlegel, Cunningham, Buckle, Cotton, and others.")

2. Others have started with or come to the view that each people has its own suitable religion, the outgrowth of its own life, and best adapted to its needs. Mr. Bosworth Smith holds that "missionaries will no doubt be found to acquiesce in what seems the will of Providence, that a national religion is as much part of a man's nature as the genius of his language or the colour of his skin."—(Lectures on "Mohammedanism," 2d ed., p. 68.) And Mr. Scawen Blunt says that "while admitting the eternal truth of Christianity for ourselves, we may be tempted to hold that, in the Arabian mind, if in no other, Islam too may prove eternal."—("The Future of Islam," pp. 142, 172.) And especially do we hear this view set forth to-day in behalf of Hinduism. "Let us be friends," writes a Hindu to the American public in a leading magazine, "and as children of one God forget all differences of opinion. You have your religion, and you think it best. If it is the best, keep it to yourselves. But do not revile other religions. As for faults, other religions have faults, but so has your own. Let us pray Him whom you call God and I call Brahma, to send us enlightenment and make us love each other without consideration of caste and creed. But I assure you that you cannot thrust a new religion on an

already civilised nation, whose religion is the cradle of religions; where the people are born to their religion and it is fostered through generations. . . . Christianity is best suited to the Western nations. As a religion we do not show disrespect to it, because every religion tends toward the same end, namely, salvation. . . . In the present Hindu religion one can find all the essential elements of all other religions. . . . The Hindus regard it as impregnable and everlasting. To preach Christianity to the Hindu, who had a religion and was civilised before the dawn of history, seems to him, therefore, the most ridiculous things on earth—indeed, audacious."—(*The Forum,* 1894, pp. 489. 483, art. by PURUSHATAM RAO TELANG, on "Christian Missions as Seen by a Brahman.") And this is the view which Mrs. Besant puts forth with her remarkable eloquence with the approval of the leaders of modern Hindu thought. It was the dominant principle of her address on "Hindu Social Reform on National Lines" at the Madras meeting of the Hindu Association in 1903:

The Hindu Association intends to promote Hindu social and religious advancement on national lines in harmony with the spirit of Hindu civilisation. There is the distinguishing mark. While we have quarrelled with none, while we have harsh words for none, while we have condemnation for none, we yet claim our duty to choose the path which, we believe, leads best to our goal, and that path is a national path and not a foreign one, is one of Hindu civilisation and not of Western civilisation—(hear, hear)—is one in which, while we will take from the West everything that is useful, that can enrich our knowledge and enlarge our hearts, we will take nothing that despiritualises India, nothing that denationalises India, nothing that makes her simply a copy instead of a divine original. We do not want a plant of exotic growth that will wither before the Indian sun and will be torn up by the Indian storm; we want the plant of Hindu growth and of Hindu root, that grows stronger when the Hindu sun blazes upon it and is able to resist the tornado as well as the tropical heat. (Cheers.) No reform is lasting, no change is permanent which is not based on the traditions of the nation and in accordance with the genius of the people. I am not condemning Western ways, Western traditions, Western cus-

toms. Were I in England I should tell them to base their institutions on English history, English genius, English thought; but in India I claim the same right of originality for the Indian nation to base her growth on Indian traditions and to build in accordance with Indian architecture. A house is not well built which is a mixture of every style of building; here a bit from the architecture of England and there a scrap that comes from China; here a doorway that has a Mussulman stamp on it, and there a turret that recalls an English cathedral spire. Build your temple as a Hindu temple, and then it will stand; but if you build into it scraps of the architecture of every other religion, you will have a grotesque anachronism and not a national building. . . .

Then we come to the religious education of Hindu boys and girls in all Hindu schools and colleges. How vital that is you can see if you look round you. Why, only yesterday I stood face to face with a Brahmana, of high social position, of high intellectual equipment, who, trained in a Jesuit college by the carelessness of those responsible for his training, is on the verge of renouncing his ancestral religion and embracing Christian faith. (Cries of "Shame.") Shame; but shame to whom? To that young man (cheers), to that young man who, placed as a boy, plastic and helpless, in the hands of the Jesuit teachers, has been moulded like plastic clay by their fingers and taken every sophism that they present to him as truth direct from the mouth of God, or shame to those who place plastic minds in the hands of the Jesuit and the foreigner? And shame, most of all, not to the one man who sent his son to that fatal influence, but to the whole community which has been indifferent (cheers) to its ancestral faith, and cared not whether its boys lost or kept their religion provided they gained the Western veneer which was sufficient for the gaining of a livelihood. I do not blame Western veneer; I do not want you not to educate your sons on Western lines. That is necessary in the present condition of India. But why, at the same time, not give them Hindu religious and moral education? Why not place within their reach the priceless treasures that the past has bequeathed? By all means give them the jewels of Western learning; why should they not be enriched by them? But do not deprive them of the diadem, the diamond of the Eastern faith in which all colours are found, blended into one pure ray of light, that diadem of Hinduism which is your priceless heirloom, and which India cannot afford to lose. . . .

There is no nation greater than India on the face of the

world. India has a right and a duty in the civilisation of the future; she is not simply to repeat the modern notes of younger nations; she has to sound out her own mighty note which belongs to her among the nations of the world, and this not only for your interest but for the interests of the Empire and for the interests of the world at large. Unless you keep your own national characteristics, unless you preserve your religion, unless you walk along the road that suits the national genius, India has no national future in the building of the coming civilisation.

This view, not without elements of truth in the case of some religions which we must recognise, is set forth boldly even in defence of fetichism and savage religions. We are bidden not to disturb the primitive races in their noble simplicity, which cannot bear the burden of the more advanced faith. This idea we may as well dismiss in passing with the authoritative testimony of one who lived among them and whose associate, James Chalmers, was eaten by them. "We hear of the noble savage," says Dr. Lawes, "disturbed in the quiet of his simple, primitive life; but during the whole course of my missionary career I have never met a noble savage. He exists only in the minds of novelists and romancers. He is lascivious, crafty, quarrelsome, and selfish, and nothing can change him but the power of the Gospel."—(*The British Weekly,* May 16, 1901.)

3. The view which we have been considering is given a much nobler form by some who see in each religion God's effort to reveal Himself to men.

> A little here, again a little there,
> In varying measures, and in sundry ways
> For men of different ages, various climes.
> God hath withdrawn the veil that hides His face,
> Lest any man should say, "God grudged me light,
> And grudging light, denied the Hope of Life."

Another poet sets forth melodiously the same thought:

> God sends His teachers unto every age,
> To every clime and every race of men,
> With revelation fitted to their growth

And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of truth
Unto the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of men and given it to grasp
The master key of knowledge, reverence,
Infolds some germs of goodness and of right;
Else never had the eager soul which loathes
The slothful down of pampered ignorance,
Found in it even a moment's fitful rest.

A missionary in China has earnestly set forth the same view. "All the great historic religions of the world are not only the product of seekers after God, but, as the same sun shines in Asia as in Europe, so it is the same Spirit of God which moves Arabs, Hindus, and Chinese prophets and sages to write down that with which they believe God's Spirit has inspired them, for Jesus Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world." A Hindu writer in *The Epiphany* goes somewhat further: "Christianity is not the only way revealed by God, but Hinduism is also the way to God. The religion (whatever it may be) which is best makes us closest to Him. Hinduism, which is an ancient religion, is as good a religion as Christianity itself, because if it be not good it is utterly impossible for it to stand on its own legs for so many days in Asia and other parts of the world in the midst of calamities and darkness, under the tyranny of ancient kings, and when other religions by its side were rising and declining and trying the match with it."—(*The Epiphany,* January 23, 1909.)

Under this view some hold that all that is necessary is that each man should be faithful and conscientious in following his own light. But the light is darkness with some men. "Tell us what Hinduism is and is not," the Cambridge missionaries reply to the writer in *The Epiphany*. "A Hindu has said that Hinduism offers protection to the drunkard, the lascivious, the liar, and the thug, for each of whom it prescribes a particular kind of spirituality, giving sanction to deeds of darkness." Roman Catholicism has extended similar shelter in some lands. It has done so in Mexico. But the men who are faithful to such

lights are not worthy of praise. Conscientiousness is no proof of truth or righteousness. Conscience can be as depraved as desire. Others under this view hold that other revelations are superior to the Christian revelation. That is the foundation contention of Islam and Vedantism and also of the New Buddhism, which, however, talks in the terms of philosophy and not of revelation.—(*The Japan Daily Mail,* March 31, 1892; Art. "The New Buddhism.") Others still hold this view as part of a larger thought of God's education of the human race, seeing in the non-Christian religions either God's present school for the non-Christian peoples or His past schoolmasters to bring them to Christ. Some set forth this conception with a carelessness which justifies Dr. Ashmore's vigorous reply that it "makes Christ the author of heathenism as He is of Christianity. . . . According to that, God, who was receiving with compliance the sweet smell that rose from the camp in the wilderness, was, at the same time, beholding with pleasure the sacrifices of Moloch in the valley of the son of Hinnom. The same holy Spirit that was moving Elijah on one side of Carmel to declare that Jehovah He is God, was at the same time impelling the priests of Baal to gash themselves with knives and declare that Baal he is God on the other side of the plain. . . . Because there are some virtues woven into heathenism, it does not follow that God made heathenism. God made gold, but He did not work it up into graven images. God made grain, but He did not make it into whiskey. God made the natural virtues, but He did not organise them into Confucian and Shintu systems of ancestor worship and king worship." Undoubtedly, God has not forsaken any part of this world, and He has been educating mankind, but that does not entitle us to charge to Him all that has found a place in the life and thought of men. We are bound to exempt God from responsibility for whatever is morally discordant with His character. The problem of the divine education of the human race is still unsolved (FABER, "The Science of Chinese Religion," p. 149), and what we have to deal with to-day are the simple facts of the world. What religions are actually acquainting men with the character of God to-day and making

them sons of God and bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit of God? This is our practical question.

4. A fourth view of the world's religions, including Christianity, reduces them all to mere ethnic superstitions, which humanity should outgrow, and upon whose decay the hope of human progress rests. Vambery asserts that the decline of the Mohammedan world was due to its devotion to religion, and that the progress of Japan is due to its repudiation of religion:

> The evil results of the existing relationship between Church and State are now beginning to be realised by the Mohammedans themselves. A learned mollah from India writes me on this subject as follows: "The Church and State have been allies in Christian Europe, and the subjection of the people has been the policy of both. What is the condition of priest-ridden countries like Spain? It is true that the mollahs are the allies of the tyrannical Moslem rulers. But, fortunately, there is no priesthood in Islam. . . . If Europe can become civilised and progressive in spite of the absurd dogmas of Christianity, there is every hope of regeneration and renaissance of Moslem Asia, for the dogmas of Islam are less absurd and less rigid than those of Christianity. The alliance between Church and State rests in Islam merely on an act of violence which has to be removed first of all."
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> That we are right in attributing the decline of the Islamic world to the tyranny and the overmastering power of religion is best proved by the marvellous advance made by Japan. When the Japanese, although in many social and political points preserving a severely Asiatic character, have, as by the act of a *Deus ex machina,* become Europeanised; have accepted our sciences, our arts, our form of government, and our manner of thought; this is because they were indifferent in matters of religion—in fact, are practically atheists. The national religion, Shintoism, is not a religion at all, but merely an apotheosis of heroes, kings, ancestors, and the powers of Nature culminating in the precept, "Follow thy natural inclination, and obey the commandments." The Japanese who is at all educated laughs at religion in general and wonders how it can continue in Western lands. The spirit of liberalism which prevails in Japan excludes all possibility of despotism. The present Emperor, Mutsuhito, was in no way restricted when in 1888 he gave his people a

constitution. No Divine command, no prophetic word, prevented him from accepting or imitating the good he found in the administrations of Western lands. The Japanese recognise no Kafirs and no heathen, whom it is their duty to hate and to despise, as is the case amongst pious Christians and Mussulmans. In the same proportion as he keeps at a safe distance from the narrow world of faith, he is able to get nearer to the light of liberty and progress. The latest history of Japan contains a solemn word of warning for all Islamic nations.

India is reading history in the same way. A writer in the *Kayastha Samachar* calls upon his countrymen to learn the lesson that religion has ceased to influence politics outside the Islamic world, and that Japan's regeneration has been effected by statesmen and not by priests; that if we want to rise in the scale of nations we must discard the thousand castes and creeds which are raising their hydra heads around us everywhere and adopt the one comprehensive eternal religion of Fatherland. (*Kayastha Samachar,* August, 1902, p. 136; Art. "The Japanese Renaissance.") "The Americans," says a Hindu writer, "are the most progressive nation, and have in some respects left the European nations behind, because they have not been hampered with religion. . . . Religious superstition has been the curse of India."—(*The Forum,* September, 1894, p. 95; Art. by VIRCHAND F. GANDHI, "Home Life in India.") In too many lands the superficial comparison of religions is leading men to discard all religion and to lose the religious sentiment.

5. A more common view is that all religions are fundamentally the same. Leaders of the non-Christian religions have taken up this position. It was authoritatively expressed in a careful statement addressed to "our revered ecclesiastical brethren in the world" by the heads of the six sects allied in the "Great Japan Buddhists' Union" in the year 1900. "It is, indeed, certain," said these leaders of Japanese Buddhism, "that the forms of religion in the world are manifold. But it is equally certain that in spite of the dissimilarity of religions in their tenets, as well as in rites—in short, in their external organisation—the fundamental principles embodied in what we regard as the higher classes of religion, to say nothing of those

which still remain undeveloped, are in all cases essentially, if not entirely, analagous."—(Report of Eighth Conference of Foreign Mission Boards of United States and Canada, 1901, p. 77.) This is now a very common view, both in the East and the West. Natural religion is assumed to be all that is really essential, and it is taken for granted that this is the fundamental thing in each of the great religions entering into our comparison. But this assumption is erroneous. (See GOREH, "The Supposed and Real Doctrines of Hinduism, as held by educated Hindus, with the True Source of the Former."). Natural religion is not the common substance of all these religions. Hinduism "denies the very existence of natural religion." Logically, as Dr. Kellogg points out, it does away with morality entirely, because: (1) It makes God the author equally of sin and righteousness, truth and falsehood. (2) Because it regards existence in the world as an evil consequent upon a life of virtue, no less than a life of vice. All actions are, therefore, alike evil. (3) It destroys all human responsibility, in that it affirms that in all things man acts, not freely, but under the compulsion of an inevitable necessity. (KELLOGG, "Hinduism," a sermon, Mirzapore Orphan School Press, 1876, p. 17.) What is common to all the religions of the world is simply the religious sentiment, with its evidence of the deep religious needs of men. There is no common idea of God or of morals, of sin or of righteousness, of man, or of truth. "The non-essential parts of religions differ, but the essentials agree," says a Hindu apologist. "What are the essentials?" he asks, and answers, "Self-control and self-knowledge." But all religions do not agree in this point, and even if they did verbally, they do not agree as to what the "self" is, or how it is to be controlled, or for what purpose, or what it can know, or what knowledge is. The religions of the world do not even agree as to what religion is, or what the world is, and some of them affirm that nothing is, or that the end of life is that nothing should be. The only point in which the religions of the world are agreed is that men need a religion, although Singhalese Buddhism denies even this, but as to what is meant by religion, and what that religion

should be, and where it is to be found, and what use is to be made of it, they are not agreed. The religions of the world, in a word, start from the same point in response to the same deep human need. That is all. They travel nowhither all together.

6. Still another view, differing from those we have considered, is that what each religion needs is simply to modify itself in accordance with the new requirements of life, borrowing from other religions what elements it may need, but that it should not consider conversion or surrender to any other religion. We behold to-day the great non-Christian religions undergoing this transformation and taking this attitude. The old idea that the non-Christian religions were immovable, and that the work of Christian missions beat upon them with impotent futility, has had to be given up. "The ancient faiths," said the late Dr. Cuthbert Hall upon his last return from India, "are in process of readjustment to new conditions, and are assimilating religious elements of Western thought, and using the product thus assimilated as a means of self-defence against Christianity."—(New York *Observer,* October 21, 1907.) Mr. Slater in "The Higher Hinduism" has described for us the changes which are taking place in Hinduism in this way, holding as a Christian man must to the most hopeful view of the outcome, while he yet foresees the increased difficulties which the transformation is to bring.

At the bottom of the "Hindu revival" and of all the present restlessness and ill-feeling towards Christianity, is the patriotic desire to preserve the integrity of Bharata Kanda, the ancient land of spirituality. As formerly in Japan, so in India now, Christianity and Christians are chiefly disliked because these terms appear to be synonymous with whatever is opposed to the honour and independence of the nation. Every movement in India that would insure success must ally itself with this sentiment of nationality; hence the greater success of the Arya Samaj movement, which is based on Indian lines, than of the Brahmo Samaj, which owes its origin mainly to Christianity. . . .

And here we may note a significant fact in which the inherent weakness of Hinduism is disclosed. If it looks to the revival of the national faith in regard to religion, it yet *looks to the*

West for its social and political ideals. In this strange divergence it confesses its utter weakness as a social force; that there is nothing in its ancient institutions to revive which will fit the nation for its keen struggle for existence; but that for the elaboration of a better order of society it must look outside itself. This severance of religion from sociology, this failure of Hinduism as a reforming agency, a regenerator of society, an instrument of progress, robs it of half its strength, and encourages the Christian advocate to hope that, as the thoughtful men of India come to study the sociological results of Christ's religion in the West, and see it to be the pioneer of all true progress, the only effective agency in destroying the old evils, they may be led to pay a deeper respect to its underlying and distinctive truths. Applied Christianity is now the demand of the Western world, and possibly the great Indian nation, born to new life in the present age, may find a way to Christ through the social and political avenues of our time. . . .

The fact is that, though a new spirit is abroad working under the old forms of Hinduism, whose ethics are gradually being penetrated and transformed by the ideals of the West, this movement is not so much the result of an honest conviction of the soundness of either the dogmas or the institutions of Hinduism as a patriotic attempt to *harmonise its higher ideals with those of Christianity,* which are seen to be everywhere gaining ground in the world. It bears certain resemblances to the pretensions of the Gnostics of Alexandria in the second century who held the key to the higher spiritual philosophy, which attempted to unify Christ's teaching with the esoteric wisdom of Greece and Egypt. The leaven of Christianity will work, and in its own way, and in its natural affinity with certain pre-existing conditions of thought will form semi-Christianised philosophies like the neo-Platonism of Alexandria, which explained away the objectionable features of the old mythology, and tried to fight Christianity largely with its own weapons; and those eclectic systems will, for a time at least, give a distinct support to the old religions of the country, and even infuse new life into them, presenting many features of the Gospel though non-Christian in their basis. . . .

Mr. Mazumdar has observed: "The New Testament is the source of a hundred developments of personal, social, and spiritual reform among thoughtful Hindus." And, in still more striking words, he wrote: "Christ is a tremendous reality. The destiny of India hangs upon the solution of His nature and our relation to Him."

And, speaking generally, in all recent religious reforms, the Vedic idea has been modified by Biblical theism and Christian thought, as was seen in the history of Brahmoism itself as far back as 1854, when it came to the conclusion that it was impossible to frame its advanced creed upon the Vedas and Upanishads. And in other directions, not excepting the revived Vedanta of the present day, those who in India have not studied the Bible for naught are *reading Christianity into Hinduism,* and finding there, under its light, truths that were never found before, instead of saying, as they did twenty years ago, of our religion, "It is not true," they are now saying, "It is not *new.*" Tending more and more to the belief in the underlying unity of all religions, they are maintaining that the faiths of the East do not differ materially from Christianity in their essential principles and more important teachings, and so, even in reform speeches, and on the National Congress platforms, as well as in Vedantic pamphlets, not to speak of Brahmist services and prayers, there are frequent allusions to the Christian Scriptures, together with a more or less Christian colour pervading the thought. To the assimilative mind of India, there is no difficulty in this placing Christian thought in the midst of Hinduism, and regarding it as a part thereof. We may rest assured that the truth thus absorbed will live, and will ultimately displace the thoughts and ideas that have ceased to thrill with life.—(SLATER, "The Higher Hinduism," pp. 14-22.)

But there are those who do not anticipate such an outcome, but who regard the natural result of all the present stir of religious thought throughout the world to be not the conquest of the world by Christianity, but the permanence of the world's present religions modified to admit some portion of Christian philosophy and ethics. They would hold this also to be the desirable result, on the ground that no new faith or religious principles can possibly fill the function of the old. "It is certainly true," says one, "that human nature is so constituted that when a man's religious ideals are once disturbed, those by which they may be replaced are likely to be so insecurely rooted as to have little determining effect upon his character or future career."—(Interview in the New York *Evening Post,* July 22, 1905.) And so also a correspondent in the *Scotsman* tells us: "Thinking men have long been agreed, that it cannot be

claimed for any organised faith that it is essential to human salvation. The chief end of the ideal missionary cannot be to proselytise, but to vivify truth wherever he finds it, and inspire men with a love of goodness, leaving it to them to decide whether they should quit the ancestral house of faith in which they have dwelt. To some it will appear necessary to quit it; to others it may seem needful to remain. The non-Christian faiths are neither an accident nor a monstrosity. They contain nutriment for such inner life as their votaries are capable of, though, like the dress and food of lower races, they have elements which appear incongruous and repugnant to us. Their difference from our own faith makes it easy for us to misjudge them. For a man to accept a new creed and a strange terminology, and use these so that his personal quality shall be improved, is a work of such intellectual difficulty that we need not be surprised if many shrink from it, and prefer to seek goodness by ruder instruments which are familiar to them. From this and other reasons, proselytism has its limits in any mission field."—(Quoted in *Indian Witness,* June 13, 1896.)

7. Yet once more we are told that the indisputable result of modern thought upon Christianity and the non-Christian religions is to make it impossible any longer to regard Christianity as the absolute religion, and unwise to speak of it more confidently than as "better" than the non-Christian religions, and many add that the final religion is only to be reached when all the religions of the world have been fused into one, each making its own distinctive contribution, and humanity working out the ultimate result only by the patient evolution of life. The florid Oriental form of this view was poured forth by Swami Vivakananda at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1903: "If there is ever to be a universal religion, it must be that one which will have no location in place or time; which will be infinite like the God it will reach; whose sun will shine upon the followers of Krishna and Christ, saints or sinners alike; which will not be the Brahmans' or the Buddhists', the Christians' or the Mohammedans' religion, but the sum-total of all these, and still have infinite space for development; which

in its catholicity will embrace in its infinite aims and find a place for every human being, from the lowest grovelling man not far removed from the brute, to the highest man towering by the virtues of his heart and mind almost above humanity and making society stand in awe of him and doubt his human nature." The Swami made room for caste in his dream. The calm Western view is stated in Mr. Scott's little book on "The Apologetic of the New Testament": "It has become necessary to defend, not only the Gospel itself, but those very foundations of all religion which the writers of our New Testament could assume as unquestionable. Hardly less serious are the difficulties which have been brought into prominence by the study of comparative religion. Christianity, it would appear, must abandon its claim to a unique inspiration. Its genesis in history can be in large measure traced; the elements that have gone to the moulding of it can be ascertained and separated; it stands no longer as a solitary peak, but only as one summit in a vast formation." This view is the inspiring principle of the interesting but unimportant propaganda of Behaism in the West, and it is the commonly accepted principle of the new "Science of Religion." At the special conference in Mühlocker some eight or nine years ago, attended by many of the most prominent university professors and theologians from all over Germany, and called to discuss the comparative study of Christianity as one of the world's religions, the leading paper by Professor Troeltsch of the University of Heidelberg set forth, among a number of propositions, these: that there are gradations between the great religious forces; that in the various personalities and phenomena of history there is a gradual unfolding of the revelation of the transcendental forces behind all history, which in these personalities and phenomena brings us nearer to the transcendental absolute; that Christianity, judged from this point of view, shows itself the highest stage of religious development, and in principle superior to all other forms of religion, but nevertheless as a phenomenon subject to the historical laws of growth; that all other beliefs as to Christianity, such as the conviction that Christianity will

be invincible, are purely a matter of personal faith and not the subject of scientific certainty. At the same conference Dr. Max Christlieb discussed mission work as affected by this denial of the absoluteness of Christianity, and these were his leading propositions:

1. Our knowledge of non-Christian religions has become much greater in recent decades than it was before. One of the results of this growth in knowledge is the general conviction that the absoluteness of Christianity can no longer be claimed. This new knowledge must influence mission problems and methods of work.

2. The relative merits or demerits of a religion are to be judged by its fruits. This principle must obtain, also, in the judgment of Christianity.

3. The proposition that "everything in heathendom is false" can no longer be maintained, in view of the fact that these systems contain so much that agrees with Christianity.

4. On the other hand, the recognition of the good elements in the heathen religions may result in a dangerous practical syncretism.

5. The proposition that "everything in Christianity is true" can no longer be maintained. The fact that certain leading doctrines of older Christian creeds, such as the eternal condemnation of the unbaptised, the historical character of the story of creation, the personality and activity of the devil, have been generally discarded by Christian thinkers themselves, has already led to a different attitude in principle toward the heathen races.

6. The fact that the doctrine of verbal inspiration has been generally discarded has led to the following changes in the mission field: (a) The missionary has lost the support of absolute authority; (b) Liberal theology must be taught in mission institutions; (c) All problems of modern religious life receive a different importance.

7. Since the absoluteness of Christianity cannot be demonstrated, but only the fact that it is relatively the highest of religions, we need, and those engaged in mission work also need, a greater faith than ever before.—(Translated in *The Literary Digest* of December 28, 1901.)

Now the question of the absoluteness of Christianity may, after all, be not much more than a controversy over words. At any rate, we can leave it for those who have leisure for it.

The practical problem of the missionary enterprise is this, Does the actual comparison of Christianity with the non-Christian religions, necessitated by the work of missions, show that that work is unnecessary or dissolve the missionary duty or nullify its aim? What does the missionary movement believe that it finds as a result of that study of comparative religion which is its daily business?

1. We find, first of all, that men everywhere are made for religion, that there is in humanity a deep hunger after something from without humanity, that in spite of all that has obstructed His way and distorted His word, God has been seeking men. What Jesus told the woman of Samaria we find evidenced in every nation, that God is a Spirit, and that those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth, and that the Father is seeking such to worship Him.

2. We find when we come with Christianity to the other religions of the world, and place Christianity in comparison with them, that Christianity has all the good of other religions. There is good and truth in these religions which we joyfully acknowledge, which has enabled them to survive and given them their power, but there is no truth or good in them which is not found in a purer and fuller form in Christianity. Hinduism teaches the immanence of God; Mohammedanism the sovereignty of God; Buddhism the transitoriness and yet the solemn issues of our present life; Confucianism the dignity of our earthly relationships and of human society. But are not all these truths in Christianity also? It is so with whatever of good we find anywhere. To complete a sonnet, from which I have already quoted:

> We with reverent minds searching the lore
> Of ancient days, find buried here and there
> Fragments of precious truths and, piecing them
> Again with reverent minds, construct a Form
> And Body of the Truth—when lo! the whole
> Grows to the likeness of our own dear Christ.

There is no truth anywhere which is not already in Christ, and in Christ in its fullest and richest form. Even the trans-

formed Hinduism of the Vedanta offers only portions of what we already have in Him. As Mr. Slater says: "The Christian Gospel offers all that the Vedanta offers, and infinitely more. So true is it that every previous revelation flows into the revelation we have in Christ, and loses itself in Him. Christ includes all teachers. All 'other masters' are in Christ. We do not deny the truths they taught; we can delight in all. We can give heed to all the prophets; but every truth in every prophet melts into the truth we have in Christ. And Christ tells us that life, not death, is what our souls are made for. That is His distinctive message to the non-Christian world. To be made one with the divine, 'not in the dull abyss of characterless nonentity, lapsing from the personal down to the impersonal, from the animate to the inanimate, from the self back to the mere thing'; but in the reciprocal embrace of conscious love, mutually realised and enjoyed—that is the true and highest bhakti-yoga—knowing even as we are known."

And not only are all the truths of the other religions in Christianity, but they are there balanced and corrected as they are not in the non-Christian religions. Hinduism teaches that God is near, but it forgets that He is holy. Mohammedanism teaches that God is great, but forgets that He is loving. It knows that He is a king, but not that He is a father. Buddhism teaches that this earthly life is fleeting, but it forgets that God sent us to do work, and that we must do it while it is day. Confucianism teaches that we live in the midst of a great framework of sacred relationships, but it forgets that in the midst of these we have a living help and a personal fellowship with the eternal God, in whose lasting presence is our home. What the other religions forget, or never knew, Christianity tells us in the fulness of its truth.

3. We find that with whatever good they may have, the non-Christian religions are seamed with evils from which Christianity is free. How they came there a great parable of our Lord describes. Whatever truth men know we know is His; whatever evil mars that truth, another's.

The Sower sowed, and sowing went His way:
His seeds, sound grains of truth, and on a soil
Rich with the mellowed wisdom of the age,
Promising noble yield of increment,
But night came on—the waning æon's night—
And while men slept an envious neighbour came,
Trod in the Sower's steps, and broadcast threw
Over the new-sown fields his evil tares,
And so withdrew.

If only one might hope that he had withdrawn! But the harm that he wrought and some power which sustains it abide. These are facts which in the interest of truth we are bound to face. For the truth's sake, and with joy, we recognise whatever of "true teaching or high aspiration" we can find, but without disloyalty to the truth we cannot deny the tares, we cannot maintain that these religions "have no materially worse side, that they embody the best thoughts and the highest longings of the men from whom they proceeded, that their defects are only of deficiency in comparison with the fuller teaching of the Christian creed, and that they must no more be held responsible for the vices which obtain amongst their followers than the Gospel for the vices of Christendom. To me," says Bishop Lefroy, from whom I quote these words, "St. Paul is conclusive on this point, for, while never abusing other faiths in the presence of their followers, rather at such times laying hold on them to suggest and justify his own teaching—he yet in the Epistle to the Romans unmistakably shows what his view was of the working of Grecian and Roman mythology as a whole, tracing all the fearful social and political corruption of the age up to idolatry and false religious beliefs as the fountain head."—(Cambridge Mission, Occasional Paper, "Mohammedanism," No. 21, p. 13 ff.) If we take a different attitude, if we gloss over the dark facts in the non-Christian religions, we do three things,—we falsify the facts, we prepare for a great reaction of denunciation and dislike of the non-Christian religions when the truth finds access to minds accustomed to a distorted view, and we disqualify ourselves for dealing helpfully with the non-Christian religions. "For one and all of these,

while their strength is in that fragment of truth, which, however maimed and distorted, with whatever contradiction and under whatever disguises, they hold, have also their eminently weak side, that on which they signally deny and ignore some great truths which the spirit of man craves, which the Scripture of God affirms, a side, therefore, on which" we need to know how to give the hearts that rest in them the very help which they need and have not found. (TRENCH, Hulsean Lectures for 1845. Lecture 8, p. 117. Quoted by LEFROY, *op. cit.*, p. 14.)

With no joy, with a heavy heart, the missionary enterprise sets down what it has found of radical evil and error in the non-Christian religions.

In Confucianism it has found polytheism, idolatry, and polygamy. The Chinese people are a people of many noble qualities, but we are considering now not the people but the Confucian system. As Dr. Faber has described it, it recognises no relation to a living God. Though dimly known, He is not the only object of worship. Polytheism is taught in the Classics. Idolatry is the natural consequence, and all the superstitions in connection with it among the people are the inevitable results. Geomancy, spiritualism, exorcism, and all kinds of deceit practised by Buddhist and Taoist priests have their origin in the worship of ancestral spirits, for which Confucianism is responsible, since sacrificing to the dead is taught as the highest filial duty in the Classics, and Mencius sanctions polygamy on its account. Though the practice of building temples to heroes arose shortly after the Classical Period, its roots can be found in the Classics, and there are now over 100,000 such temples in China to great warriors and other men of eminence, in which sacrifices are offered and incense is burned to their shades. Omens and the choice of lucky days are a sacred duty enjoined by the Classics and enforced by law. Confucianism not only has no censure for polygamy, but sanctions it in the Classics. The misery of eunuchs, secondary wives, slave girls, degradation of women in general, are accompaniments of this vice. "The Confucian system did not do much for women. The Analects tell us that 'Women are difficult to manage; if you

are familiar with them, they are not humble; if you keep them at a distance, they become discontented.' And, as Dr. Faber tells us, nothing is said about the relations of married people. There is abundance of instruction as to brothers, but sisters are not even mentioned. The stress laid on filial piety, the worship of ancestors, makes it the chief duty of sons to procure a posterity in order that sacrifices may be continued. Hence polygamy at times becomes an ethical necessity, a religious duty, and there is no testimony against this social evil in the whole range of Chinese literature."—(China Centenary Conference Report, Address by D. L. ANDERSON, p. 47.)

In Confucianism the system of social life is tyranny. Women are slaves. Children have no rights in relation to their parents, whilst subjects are placed in the position of children with regard to their superiors. It is a strict demand of Confucius in the Classics that a son should lose no time in revenging the death of his father or of a near relation. Blood revenge was an ancient usage, but Confucius both sanctioned it and raised it to a moral duty, poisoning by it three of his five social relations. (Summarised from FABER, "China in the Light of History," pp. 59-64; "A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius," pp. 124-127.) The Chinese people are both better and worse than Confucianism, but it is a painful and significant fact, as Kanzo Uchimura says in his dialogues, that "in all the countries where the Confucian morality is in vogue, sexual crime is not usually considered as a crime. That is so; and that is the chief reason, I think, why there is no such thing as happy home in these countries."—(An Anglo-Japanese Conversation, p. 48.)

It is neither necessary nor desirable to state all that is found of evil in Hinduism, in comparison with Christianity. The Hindus themselves have made the presentation far more fully and convincingly than any missionaries have ever sought to make it. The writings of Ram Mohun Roy and of Keshub Chunder Sen are all that need to be read. It must suffice here to point out only two things, first, the evil philosophy of life which Hinduism presents in its pantheism, and secondly, the

moral fruitage of it. Christianity, even at the sacrifice of intellectual unity for the sake of moral completeness, maintains both the transcendence and the immanence of God, while "Hinduism by denying His transcendence and maintaining His immanence totally abandons moral in favour of intellectual completeness."—("Mankind and the Church," MYLNE on "Hinduism.") In a world where God is responsible for all, and is in all, even in lust and sin, and where all reality is illusive, men will not be clean, and they will not be hopeful. One of the most capable of the younger leaders of India has described the effect of this theory of life for us:

To the Hindu the external world is unreal and he is ever oppressed by the consciousness that behind the things of sense is the unseen world, continually exerting its influence upon the life of mankind in ways that are inexplicable. The fear of the unseen and the delusiveness of the seen continually haunt him. His luxuriant imagination detects symbolism everywhere and in all things, pure and foul, good and evil, in love, passion, and hate. In this ever-shifting world of impermanence the soul wanders, finding temporary abode in human form or in that of a lower animal, or even it may be in a rock, stone, or tree. Side by side with this conviction of the unreality of the world of sense, there is deeply ingrained in the Hindu mind the idea of retribution. The deeds of a past existence hound a man through this present life. Good and evil actions, whether done intentionally or inadvertently, have a retributory force, and a man is continually reaping a harvest sown in the unknown and unremembered past. Nothing avails to ease his lot, and thus he struggles in the morass of existence. Every endeavour to extricate himself sinks him even more deeply and hopelessly. It is these beliefs that are ultimately responsible for the deadening influences of Hinduism.

The Hindu theory of life and of the universe blunts the finer feelings, and its hopelessness is subversive to morality and truth, and antagonistic to progress and reform. The moral practice of the people is not on the whole very different from that of Western peoples. The moral standard, however, is lower. Hinduism has no bar of public opinion at which tyrannous social custom and immorality may be arraigned. We cannot forget that many Indian religious leaders have inculcated high and noble sentiments, but Hinduism shows its impotence to correct

or even to condemn moral and social wrong. The greatest evil is not caste, nor untruthfulness, nor cruelty to the individual, nor immorality. All these are symptomatic of a diseased mind. The reform needed is more radical than to break down the tyranny of caste, prevent child-marriage, rescind the restrictions against widow remarriage, purify the temples and ennoble the worship of the people. It is nothing less than to give India a new outlook upon the world and human life.—(DATTA, "The Desire of India," Chapter III.)

This is Dr. Datta's analysis, but something further is to be said of the actual working out in life of the moral effects of Hindu pantheism. You can put it in grand words, if you like, such as those which Macaulay uses in the introduction to his famous speech on "The Gates of Somnauth": "As this superstition is of all superstitions the most irrational, and of all superstitions the most inelegant, so it is of all superstitions the most immoral. Emblems of vice are objects of public worship. Acts of vice are acts of public worship. The courtesans are as much a part of the establishment of the temple, as much the ministers of the gods, as the priests. Crimes against life, crimes against property, are not only permitted but enjoined by this odious theology." And if you do not want it put in Macaulay's grand way, you will find it cogently expressed in Mr. Meredith Townsend's essay on "The Core of Hinduism," where he is dealing especially with Vivekananda's representations at the Parliament of Religions. There, and in other essays, Mr. Townsend, for years a resident of India, and a careful student of its life, complains that the great curse of India is just what he says is the worst idea of all Asia, namely, that morality has no immutable basis, but is deemed by every man a fluctuating law, and that it is a characteristic of the Hindu mind that it is able to hold, and actually does hold, the most diametrically opposite ideas, as though all such ideas were true; and that the great weakness in Hinduism, making it utterly insufficient for the needs of men, is the absolute want of that ethical reality which is one of the essential characteristics of Christianity, the want of any vinculum binding religious faith to moral life. This explains why the holiest city of India is so vile. This explains why it was neces-

sary for the British Government by statute to prohibit the obscenities of public religious worship in India.

In Buddhism in our comparison we come upon no such abyss. The evil of Buddhism is not so easily located, but it is the more pervasive. To affirm it will be to invite denial, because of the developments in Buddhism which have raised up schools which contradict its fundamental principles. "It passes," as Sir Monier Williams says, "from apparent atheism and materialism to theism, polytheism, and spiritualism. It is under one aspect mere pessimism; under another, pure philanthropy; under another, monastic communism; under another, high morality; under another, a variety of materialistic philosophy; under another, simply demonology; under another, a mere farrago of superstitions, including necromancy, witchcraft, idolatry, and fetichism."—(Monier Williams, "Buddhism," p. 13.) In the forms in which it presses itself upon comparison with Christianity in Northern Asia it is itself a reflection of Christian thought, and is dependent for a knowledge of its own history largely upon Christian scholars. "There are not a score of men in Japan who can tell you what Buddhism teaches. In talking with Dr. Lloyd of the Imperial University the other day," writes a young missionary in Japan, "I said to him that I wanted to get hold of some educated Japanese Buddhist priest, who has not been too much influenced by Western thought, for in this way I hoped to learn what real Buddhists believed. He smiled and then said he had thought that he had found such a man. He was intelligent and apparently well-versed in the real teachings of pure Buddhism, and as he knew no foreign language he seemed quite promising as a source of first-hand information. Dr. Lloyd asked him many questions of things ancient and modern, and the priest's answers seemed quite intelligent and much in harmony with what Dr. Lloyd already knew. After the various interviews were over the priest mentioned as the authority for his information the writings of Rhys-Davids." But back of all the modification under the influence of Christian thought pure Buddhism in the south of Asia is both outspokenly atheistic and, from our point of view, non-religious. "Bud-

dhism," says an editorial in *The Buddhist,* the organ of the Young Men's Buddhist Association in Colombo, whose first object is the study and propagation of Buddhism, "demands no belief in a God, involves no dogma, and enjoins no ritual. It is self-culture based on self-knowledge. In other words, it is the rational regulation of our own conduct. Buddhism is that, and nothing more, nothing less. . . . It satisfies the needs of men from whose eyes the scales of superstition have fallen, and who need no supernatural help to understand and appreciate what is good and true." "It is an etymological injustice to refer to Buddhism as a religion," declares one of the leading articles. "To be a Buddhist is to be irreligious, to be unbound. . . . To call Buddhism a religion is a contradiction in terms. Buddhism not only does not admit the existence of a God, it also denies the existence of a soul."—(*The Buddhist,* July, 1907, pp. 209, 219.) Indisputably Buddhism is not a religion in the same sense as Christianity, for it holds as false what Christianity regards as its deepest and most precious goods. Pure Buddhism denies the personality and the very existence of God. As Dr. Kellogg has said, it deliberately "stamps human nature as evil, not because it is sinful, but simply because it exists, for all existence is evil"; it is a religion that pronounces our holiest relationships, husband and wife, father and child, evil relationships, and that tells every man who would attain Nirvana at the last that he must cut loose from such things; a religion that deliberately denies the most necessary convictions of our minds, that pronounces our consciousness of personality, our belief in our possession of a soul, simple delusions; a religion that condemns our holiest ambitions to eternal punishment.

And in Islam, at once so near to Christianity and so far away, we find when we make our comparison over against Christianity's contrary principles, the great evils of fatalism, despotism, polygamy, and slavery. "In vain," says Professor Smyth in his Oxford Lectures on Modern History, "did he (Mohammed) destroy the idols of his countrymen and sublime their faith to the worship of the one true God. In vain did he inculcate compassion to the distressed, alms to the needy,

protection and tenderness to the widow and the orphan. He neither abolished nor discountenanced polygamy, and the professors of his faith have thus been left the domestic tyrants of one-half of their own race. He taught predestination, and they have thus become by their crude application of his doctrines the victims of every natural disease and calamity. He practised intolerance, and they are thus made the victims of the civilised world. He permitted the union of the regal and sacerdotal offices, and he made the book of his religion and legislation the same. All alteration, therefore, among the Mohammedans must have been thought impiety. Last in the scale of thinking beings, they have exhibited families without society, subjects without freedom, governments without security, and nations without improvement." This is rhetoric, but it is truth. In the most charitable and effective apology for Islam which we have in English, Mr. Bosworth Smith admits the evil standards of Islam as to woman and concedes that there are in Christianity whole realms of thought, and whole fields of morals, that are all but outside the religion of Mohammed; that Christianity teaches men ideals of personal purity, of humility, of forgiveness of injuries, of the subjection of the lower life to the demands of the higher life, ideals which are absolutely foreign to Mohammedanism; that it sets before men possibilities of progress and boundless development of the mind such as Mohammed never dreamed of; that in the various paths of human attainment the characters that Christianity has developed have been greater, more many-sided, more holy, than any of the characters that Islam has produced. Mr. Bosworth Smith himself has to admit as much as this, that the great religion for which he is saying the best that can be said is a religion that for 1,200 years has been sterile intellectually. And, what is worse than that, Mohammedanism is held by many who have to live under its shadow to be the most degraded religion, morally, in the world. We speak of it as superior to the other religions because of its monotheistic faith, but missionaries from India tell us that the actual moral conditions to be found among Mohammedans there are as terrible as those to be found among the pantheistic Hindus themselves,

and the late Dr. Cochran of Persia, a man who had unsurpassed opportunities for seeing the inner life of Mohammedan men, told me, toward the close of his life, that he could not say, out of his long and intimate acquaintance as a doctor with the men of Persia, that he had ever met one pure-hearted or pure-lived adult man among the Mohammedans of Persia.

It is not pleasant to speak of these things. We are not speaking of them because a Christian man finds any joy in denouncing these evils in the non-Christian religions. We would denounce these evils if we found them in our own land; we speak no more harshly about them in other lands than we speak about them in our own. But we will not let the fact that these great evils are cloaked by religious sanctions abroad compel us to speak of them with less condemnation; we will speak of them with more condemnation because they are imbedded in the midst of those very forces out of which men's whole hope of holiness must flow. It cannot be allowed, as we would gladly allow, that these evils in the non-Christian religions are mere excrescences not due to the religions, or not vitally connected with the religions, but the sad contributions of man's own evil nature polluting his religious faiths. For these evils spring out of the fundamental principles of the non-Christian religions and are so interwoven with them that they can only die with the death of the religion or with such radical transformation of its character as will make it cease to be itself. It is only the influence of Christianity which has led the non-Christian religions to discover these things of shame, and many of them are not yet and cannot be disavowed. In the case of Hinduism the worst evils are evils which have been enshrined in the institutions and sanctified and perpetuated in the character of the gods. When Lord William Bentinck made widow-burning a crime the Hindus memorialised the Government, affirming that suttee was a sacred duty and a lofty principle, and denouncing the new legislation as "a breach of the promise that there should be no interference with the religious customs of the Hindus." The worst literature of India is part of the sacred books, and one of the most obscene festivals, the Holi or Shimga, is part of the prescribed religious

observance of the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India. "Of the sacred books, the Dharam Sindhu, for example," says Dnyanodaiya, "quotes approvingly from the Jotirnibandh, which says, 'of the fifteen days from the fifth day of the bright half of the moon to the fifth of the dark half, ten are infinitely meritorious. During these days wood and cowdung cakes should be stolen and kindled either in or outside the village, with fire stolen from the house of a low-caste man. The king, having bathed and purified himself, should give gifts and light the Holi fire. In the same way the people should spend the night in pleasures, singing and dancing. Pronouncing obscene words, they should walk thrice around the fire. By these obscene words the sinful goddess, Dhunda, will be satisfied.' Here are two religious books, at least, that approve of this filthy way of celebrating the Shimga, the former being not only a well-known book, but the standard reference for present rites and ceremonies. The Dharam Sindhu further adds that no sin is committed by these acts and words. The philosophy with which this is explained is that the goddess, Dhunda, is a lover of sin, and therefore the appeasing of her and the gaining of her favour, by that which is sinful, must be right."

And just as immorality is the inevitable and not the accidental consequence of the fundamental principles of the actual Hinduism of the past and of its sacred books, so the other evils which we have considered stand essentially and inseparably connected with the other religions, which in their true historic character and not in Christianised form must enter the field of comparison.

4. In the fourth place, we find not only that the non-Christian religions are marred by evils from which Christianity is free, but also that Christianity has indispensable elements of good which they lack. When with reverent mind we piece again the fragments of good and truth found buried in the lore of ancient days and construct from them a Form and Body of Truth, the whole does not yield exactly "the likeness of our own dear Christ." There is no good or truth that is not in Him, but He is more than men ever dreamed. I would mention four of the

many things in Christianity which are original with it, and which it alone offers to men.

(1) One is the conception of the fatherhood of God. No phrase is more common in the discussion of comparative religion to-day, and it is often assumed that this is a common idea of all religions. On the contrary, it was the revelation of Jesus Christ. The conception was strange to the Jews. In the prophets there are three or four references to God as the father of his people, but the idea is of a political or national fatherhood, not of a personal father. And in the Book of Psalms, embodying the religious aspirations and experiences of Israel, there are only three references to the thought, and these merely poetical. In any one of the Gospels or any two or three of St. Paul's Epistles to his churches there is more of the Fatherhood of God than in the whole Old Testament. And in not one of the non-Christian religions does the rich conception really appear, except as it has been learned from Christianity.

(2) Its discovery of the central need of man in the forgiveness of his sin and the destruction of sin's power, and its provision for this need. Because no other religion has the same idea of God, no other religion can discover the central need of man as Christianity discovers it, and, as a matter of fact, no other religion does. And none other knows the principle of the free forgiveness of love through grace. The one which came in time after Christianity, and which should know more, if any can, only declares in the verse of the Koran which has troubled many Moslems: "Every mortal necessarily must once go to hell; it is obligatory on God to send all men necessarily once to hell; and afterwards He may pardon whom He will." And even when other religions prescribe what the sin-hardened soul should do to expiate his sins that are gone, they have no word of power or hope for the deliverance of men from the continuing power of evil. A young university student in Japan, now occupying an important position in the city of Osaka, who had been a leader among his fellows, near the end of his course gave way to temptation. "After some time, eager to regain his self-respect and his lost position, he sought the priest of a famous

Buddhist temple. To him he told his troubles and his longings. The priest said: 'I can help you. If you kneel with your thumbs together before the Buddha here, and remain absolutely motionless for three hours, you will be given strength to resist temptation.' The seeker obeyed. In spite of the fact that the mosquitoes annoyed him constantly, he knelt as nearly motionless as possible for the required time. Then he passed out of the temple—to fall before his temptation, as before. For two years he groped for help, but in vain, until he heard of Christ."

(3) Thirdly, it is Christianity alone which has introduced into the world the ideal of sacrificial service, the ideal which a sympathetic student of the modern Vedanta in India describes, in pointing out the needs of which it is conscious, as "the alien conception of service and of energy."—(N. Macnicol, *Hibbert Journal,* October, 1907.) We rejoice to see this ideal penetrating and modifying the non-Christian religions. Mrs. Besant has made the ideal the basis of a society within Hinduism, The Sons and The Daughters of India. As the journal of the new society tells us:

This order consists of men and women of all ages, the elders seeking by sympathy and good counsel to guide into channels useful to the country the energies of the younger, and endeavouring to help them to that self-discipline and self-sacrifice which alone make the citizen worthy to be free. To this end it is sought to wed practice to theory: by the definite and daily rendering of service, thus building the habit of helpfulness by awakening the desire to be useful and suggesting channels along which that desire may realise itself in action; by cultivating the sense of duty and responsibility, without which Liberty becomes a danger alike to the individual and the State. . . .

The following is the Pledge of the Order, to be taken in a duly constituted Lodge, presided over by the responsible member of the Chapter, or by a Warden appointed by him for the purpose:

"I promise to treat as Brothers Indians of every religion and every province, to make Service the dominant Ideal of my life, and therefore: To seek the public good before personal advantage; to protect the helpless, defend the oppressed, teach the ignorant, raise the down-trodden; to choose some definite line of

public usefulness, and to labour thereon; to perform every day at least one act of service; to pursue our ideals by law-abiding methods only; to be a good citizen of my municipality or district, my province, the Motherland, and the Empire. To all this I pledge myself, in the presence of the Supreme Lord, to our Chief, our Brotherhood, and our country, that I may be a true Son of India." It is an honourable obligation on the part of every member, pledged and unpledged, to repeat daily the Chain of Union, as follows:

"May the One Lord of the Universe, worshipped under many names, pour into the hearts of the Brothers and Sisters of this Order, and through them into India, the Spirit of Unity and of Service."—(Quoted in *The Pioneer,* Allahabad, October 26, 1908.)

If any one will really do the work of Christ, he will begin to see the word of Christ. And whoever adopts the principle of sacrificial service as the law of life borrows an original conception of Christianity of which the non-Christian religions did not know.

(4) Christ and Christ alone rose from the dead. The idea and principle of resurrection are in Christianity alone. Dr. Lloyd finds more in the non-Christian religions than some are able to find, but in the resurrection he finds what was the unique, what to St. Paul, too, was an original and accrediting distinction in Christianity. "During the five centuries immediately before the Christian era," says Dr. Lloyd in one of the most striking of recent books on comparative religion, "God's Truth was being gradually revealed; here a truth and there a truth; in many fragments and in many ways, as nations and peoples were able to bear the light. Christ took to Himself and combined in His own person all that had hitherto been revealed and known. The unifying factor was not the Incarnation, nor the Virgin Birth, nor the Life of Benevolence, nor the words of Wisdom and Love. All these were to be found in Hinduism, in Buddhism, in Confucianism, in Greek philosophy. But when the Incarnate Son of God, born of Mary, baptised in Jordan, and tempted of Satan, after a life spent in works of mercy and words of love, faced death rather than be untrue to principle, and not only faced death but conquered it by Resurrection and

Ascension, it was known at once that He had gathered all things into Himself, and that there was no further need of any partial or fragmentary Gospel."—(LLOYD, "Wheat Among the Tares," p. 236.) This does not purport to be a full view of Christianity, but it does set forth the uniqueness of its great central fact, which has no parallel as a fact in any other religion, and from which springs the triumphant power of our Faith.

5. And now, in the fifth place, in our comparison of the world's religions, we find not only that Christianity has all the good and lacks all the evils of the non-Christian religions, and that it has additional good which they want, but we find also and in consequence that they are inadequate to meet the world's needs.

For, looking at the matter more generally, what are the great needs of men that a religion must meet?

Man has his intellectual needs. As Mr. Ruskin says in a note, there are three great questions that inevitably confront every man: Where did I come from? Whither am I going? What can I know? Men must have those questions answered. All over the world every honest, thoughtful man is confronted by the great problems of his origin and his duty and his destiny. The non-Christian religions have no satisfying message to speak to such seeking men. Their philosophies of the world may stand for a little while in any metaphysical discussion, but they collapse, they are passing before our eyes, at the touch of the physical sciences. Philosophies of the world that cannot endure contact with reality cannot satisfy the intellectual needs of men.

The non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet the moral needs of men. In the first place, the non-Christian religions are not able to present a perfect moral ideal to men. Mr. Bosworth Smith goes on, in the same chapter which I quoted a moment ago, to say: "When I speak of the ideal life of Mohammedanism, I must not be misunderstood. There is in Mohammedanism no ideal life in the true sense of the word, for Mohammed's character was admitted by himself to be a weak and erring one. It was disfigured by at least one huge moral blemish; and exactly in so far as his life has, in spite of his earnest and

reiterated protestations, been made an example to be followed, has that vice been perpetuated. But in Christianity the case is different. The words, 'Which of you convinceth me of sin?' forced from the mouth of Him Who was meek and lowly of heart, by the wickedness of those who, priding themselves on being Abraham's children, never did the works of Abraham, are a definite challenge to the world. That challenge has been for nineteen centuries before the eyes of unfriendly, as well as of believing readers, and it has never yet been fairly met; and at this moment, by the confession of friend and foe alike, the character of Jesus of Nazareth stands alone in its spotless purity and its unapproachable majesty." And this is true of all the non-Christian religions. Confucius never dreamed of setting himself up as a moral ideal for men. The idea never crossed Buddha's thought; and as for many Hindu gods, we are better gods ourselves than they are. I mean that our moral characters are superior to the moral characters of these Hindu gods. Such religions cannot satisfy the moral needs of men.

Not only do the non-Christian religions erect before the eyes of men no perfect moral ideal, but they do not offer to men any living, transforming power by which the ideals that they do present can be realised. No great non-Christian teacher ever spoke to men such words as Christ spoke. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life." "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Even if the non-Christian religions did make upon men a perfect ethical demand, of what value is it to a man to have a perfect ethical demand made upon him? His own conscience already makes ethical demands upon him beyond his ability to reply. What men need is not a fresh moral demand. What men need is a fresh moral re-enforcement, a power in their wills to enable them to attain the ideals which stand out before them. Jesus Christ did not come to create a new set of moral obligations; He did not come to multiply the number of "oughts" under which life was to be lived; He came to give men more power to fulfil the "oughts" under which they already

lived. The non-Christian religions are impotent to meet the moral needs of man, because not only do they hold up before him no perfect moral ideal, but they offer him no sufficient power to attain even the best ideal which they do present.

They are inadequate to meet his moral needs because there is in them no just conception of sin. A religion that has no idea of a holy God cannot have any idea of a sinful man. It is because under the non-Christian religions men have no conception of such a God as Christ disclosed that they have never sat down in the midst of shame and sorrow at the hideousness of their sin. And, of course, with no message showing man the reality of sin, the non-Christian religions have no message of deliverance and of forgiveness.

And further, the non-Christian religions are inadequate to man's moral needs because they are all morally chaotic. We mean more than one thing by that. We mean, for one thing, that there never was a consonance between the best ideal and the reality in the non-Christian religions. No great non-Christian religious teacher ever lived up to his own ethical ideals, and that chasm which was real in the beginning is becoming a wider and wider chasm with the years. It is perfectly true that there is no Christian country in the world; it is true that there is no society that entirely embodies in itself the principles of Christ. But there is this great difference between the Christian societies and the non-Christian societies. The gulf between the ideal and the actual in the non-Christian world is widening every year, while the gulf in the Christian world is narrowing with each passing generation. The people of the non-Christian lands, most of them, have sunk ethically below the level in which they were when their great religious teachers arose. There never was an era in the history of the world when Christian lands were as near to the moral ideals of Christ as they are to-day. It is true that our Christianity is not pure, but true Christianity has in itself the self-purifying power; and whereas all the non-Christian religions, instead of being steps upward, are degenerating from the catastrophic moral upheavals from which they sprang, the Christian religion moves on in a steady ascend-

ing stream toward the great fountain from which first of all it came.

Yet once again, the non-Christian religions break down at the central and fundamental point. They have not perceived the inviolable sacredness of truth. "Verily," said Mohammed, "a lie is allowable in three cases: to women, to reconcile friends, and in war." And the god Krishna himself, in one of the Hindu sacred books, the Mahabharata, declares that there are five different situations in which falsehood may be used: in marriage, for the gratification of lust, to save life, to secure one's property, or for the sake of a Brahman. In these cases, says Krishna, falsehood may be uttered. Let the story of "The Forty-seven Ronins" testify to the failure of Japanese religion to perceive and enforce the inviolability of truth. "Lie not one to another," says Christianity's clean and unqualified injunction. "Lie not," says Buddhism, but adds the truth-annihilating condition; "to constitute a lie, there must be the discovery by the person deceived that what has been told him is not true."—(HARDY, "Manual of Buddhism," p. 486.) Confucius himself broke an oath and excused it. (FABER, "China in the Light of History," p. 63.) Now, if there is one place where religion and the men of religion meet their certain testing, it is here. Here are two of the great non-Christian religions which deliberately proclaim that no man is under obligation to tell the truth to women. All proclaim that there are cases in which lies are justified. But Christianity declares that there is one thing that to God Himself is absolutely and inviolately sacred; that God cannot lie, and that what God cannot do no religion dare pronounce to be allowable in the sons of God. Any religion or religious teacher proclaiming the possibility, the allowability of lies, excavates the foundations under human confidence, under all living faith in a real God, and makes impossible an answer to the moral needs of men.

And, furthermore, the non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet man's moral need because they have no adequate sanctions buttressing morality. You cannot support morality on the basis of pantheism; it liquefies the sanctions of morals. You

cannot do it on the basis of such a hard monotheism as Islam's, because in actual fact it petrifies the moral restraints. Dr. H. O. Dwight, long of Constantinople, told a little while ago of a voyage which he took in the Levant with a Turkish official. As they sat down in the cabin at the dinner table the Turkish official, inviting Dr. Dwight to drink with him, said: "You may think it strange that I, a Mohammedan, should ask you, a Christian, to drink with me, when wine-drinking is forbidden by our religion. I will tell you how I dare to do this thing." He filled his glass and held it up, looking at the beautiful colour of it, and said: "Now, if I say that it is right to drink this wine, I deny God's commandments to men, and He would punish me in hell for the blasphemy. But I take up this glass, admitting that God has commanded me not to drink it, and that I sin in drinking it. Then I drink it off, so casting myself on the mercy of God. For our religion lets me know that God is too merciful to punish me for doing a thing which I wish to do, when I humbly admit that to do it breaks His commandments." His religion furnished this pasha with no moral restraints or power for true character. The simple fact is that the pure monotheistic faith of Islam has not prevented a horrible tarn of immorality over all the Mohammedan world. Neither that lifeless monotheism nor the pantheism of other non-Christian religions can furnish the sanctions by which alone moral behaviour can be sustained.

And just as the non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet alike the intellectual and the moral needs of men, so they are utterly inadequate to meet the social needs of men. Religions which deny to one-half of society the right to the truth cannot meet the social needs of mankind. Religions which proclaim that women may be lied to sinlessly are anti-social in the very principles upon which they rest, and we might leave the whole case against the adequacy of these non-Christian religions here. There is in no one of the non-Christian religions any thing like the Christian home. A woman missionary from Japan spoke recently of the pathetic desire of many people in Japan to learn about the constitution of the Western home. As she

went to and fro, she said, even among the country villages she always found the people eager to sit down with her and talk about the home. They had heard of a better social organisation than theirs, and they were anxious to know where the secret of it was to be found. More than one Japanese statesman in earlier days beheld a revelation in Christian home life. We hold here in our Christian faith the one secret of a pure social life, in the matter of the relation of sex to sex and of the adult to the child. The non-Christian religions condemn women in principle or legal right to the place of chattel or of slave. A religion which denies to woman her right place in society, which even proclaims that no woman, as a woman, can be saved, as Buddhism does proclaim, cannot meet the social needs of humanity.

These religions cannot meet the social needs of men because they are incapable of, and inconsistent with, progress. Now, there are three great elements in religion: the element of fellowship, the element of dependence, and the element of progress. The non-Christian religions rest on man's sense of dependence, but they have no message to deliver to his need of fellowship, and they have no word to speak to his need of progress. Each one of the non-Christian religions to-day is bound up with a degenerating civilisation; and the peoples who live under the non-Christian religions are making no progress, are even slipping socially backward, save as they break free from these old restraints and feel the transforming power of the Christian principles. This is true of Islam. Is it not a significant fact that the great wastes of the world are under the faith of Islam? Wherever Mohammedanism has gone, it has either found a desert or made one. Twelve hundred years ago it bound down all human life in the Arabian institutions of the seventh century, and until this day, and so long as Mohammedanism abides itself in the world, progress will be inconsistent with that faith. It is as Lord Houghton put it:

> So while the world rolls on from age to age
> And realms of thought expand,
> The letter stands without expanse or range,
> Stiff as a dead man's hand.

And that which is true of Mohammedanism is essentially true of all the non-Christian religions. Not one of them is capable of, or consistent with, progress. Japan offers no exception. "Japan," said the *Japan Mail,* not long ago, "is an interesting country. It has been an interesting country for the last forty years. The moribund condition of its only religious creed is certainly not the least interesting feature of its modern career." Japan's progress has sprung, not from Buddhism, but from an abandonment or modification of Buddhism.

At the celebration in Tokyo in October, 1909, of the semi-centennial of the coming of Protestant missions to Japan, Count Okuma frankly avowed the futility of Buddhism and the efficiency of Christianity as an agency of human progress:

He said, in brief, that he was glad of this opportunity to express a word of hearty congratulation to those who were assembled to celebrate this semi-centennial of Christian work in Japan. Though not himself a professed Christian, he confessed to have received great influence from that creed, as have so many others throughout Japan. This is a most important anniversary for the country. It represents the work of one whole age in our history, during which most marvellous changes have taken place. He came in contact with, and received great impulses from, some of the missionaries of that early period, particularly from Dr. Verbeck, who was his teacher in English and history and the Bible, and whose great and virtuous influence he can never forget. Though he could do little direct evangelistic work then, all his work was Christian, and in everything he did his Christlike spirit was revealed. The coming of missionaries to Japan was the means of linking this country to the Anglo-Saxon spirit to which the heart of Japan has always responded. The success of Christian work in Japan can be measured by the extent to which it has been able to infuse the Anglo-Saxon and the Christian spirit into the nation. It has been the means of putting into these fifty years an advance equivalent to that of a hundred years. Japan has a history of 2,500 years, and 1,500 years ago had advanced in civilisation and domestic arts, but never took wide views nor entered upon wide work. Only by the coming of the West in its missionary representatives, and by the spread of the Gospel, did the nation enter upon world-wide thoughts and world-wide work. This is a great result of the Christian spirit. To be sure, Japan had her religions, and

Buddhism prospered greatly; but this prosperity was largely through political means. Now this creed has been practically rejected by the better classes who, being spiritually thirsty, have nothing to drink.—(*The Japan Daily Mail,* October 9, 1909.)

And yet once more, the non-Christian religions are inadequate to the social needs of men because every one of them denies the unity of mankind, Hinduism with its caste, Confucianism with its conceit, Islam with its fanatical bigotry, and Buddhism with its damnation of all women. It was given to Buddha in his destiny never to be born in hell, or as vermin, or as a woman. "A Brahman," says the Code of Manu, the highest Hindu lawbook, "may take possession of the goods of a Sudra with perfect peace of mind, since nothing at all belongs to the Sudra as his own." "The system of caste which is one of the most characteristic institutions of Hinduism and the basis of Hindu Society," says the Bishop of Madras, Dr. Whitehead, "is a direct denial of the brotherhood of man. The idea that the Brahman is the brother of the pariah is contrary to the first principles of Hinduism, and abhorrent to the Hindu mind. Whatever enthusiasm there may be for brotherhood in the abstract, it stops short of the brotherhood of the Brahman and the pariah. To apply to Hindu society the principle of Christian brotherhood would mean a social revolution; and it is for this practical reason that the spread of Christianity in India is so bitterly opposed. The Western dress has little or nothing to do with it: the real ground of the opposition is the fundamental principle of the brotherhood of man." To be sure, the phrase, "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," is a common phrase throughout the world, but both of these great conceptions are the contributions of the Christian revelation.

And, just as the non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet the intellectual and the moral and the social needs of man, so they are inadequate to meet his spiritual needs. For one thing, all these non-Christian religions are practically atheistic. Dr. Dwight's pasha's god amounts to no god at all. Hinduism has 333,000,000 gods, but the man who has 333,000,000 gods

has no god except himself. Buddhism, in the southern form at least, deliberately denies the existence of any god. "Buddha," says Max Müller, "denies the existence not only of the Creator, but of any absolute being. As regards the idea of a personal Creator, Buddha seems merciless." These great non-Christian religions have no satisfying word to speak to man about God. They represent, as they actually are—and this is the most charitable view that we can take of them—they represent the groping search of man after light. They show us the non-Christian peoples stumbling blindly around the great altar-stairs of God, the more pitiably, as Fleming Stevenson said, because they do not know that they are blind. As over against all these, Christianity stands as the loving quest of God after man, the full, rich revealing of His light and life, the unfolding of His love toward His children, whom He has come forth to seek in a way of which none of the non-Christian religions has ever conceived. They are inadequate to meet the spiritual needs of men, because they have never taught men to say "Father." By so much as we love to call Him Father, by so much as we delight to kneel down alone, in all the joy of our own dear and loving intimacy with Him, and call Him by the precious name in which Christ revealed Him, by so much are we under the noble duty to make our Father known to all our Father's children throughout the world.

And these non-Christian religions are inadequate to meet man's spiritual need, also, because they speak to him no word of hope. Mohammedanism has no word of hope to speak to him. When the true man's heart has revolted from its idea of a sensual paradise, what can he say except what poor Omar said?

> One moment in annihilation's waste,
> One moment of the well of life to taste.
> The stars are setting, and the caravan
> Starts for the dawn of nothing. Oh, make haste.

The folk lore songs of India, revealing the true heart of the people, are no brighter:

How many births are past I cannot tell;
How many yet to come no man can say.
But this alone I know, and know full well,
That pain and grief embitter all the way.

In those first days, when Christianity first shone on men, men realised that the great hope was the hope of Christ, that those who were without Christ were without God, and also without hope. It is narrow to speak so to-day; but we are content to be as narrow as Jesus Christ, the only Saviour; and as Paul, the greatest heart that ever went out to make Him known to the world. The world without Christ is a spiritually hopeless world.

We cannot study its religions and believe otherwise. Optimistic and buoyant of hope as he was, Dr. Barrows, who organised the comparison of religions in the Chicago Parliament of Religions, came to the same belief. "The world needs the Christian religion. I have given five of the best years of my life to the examination of this question, and I have had opportunities, such as no other man ever had, of seeing and knowing the best side of the ethnic religions. I count as my friends Parsees and Hindus, Buddhists and Confucianists, Shintoists and Mohammedans. I know what they say about themselves. I have looked at their religions on the ideal side, as well as the practical, and I know this: That the very best which is in them, the very best which these well-meaning men have shown to us, is a reflex from Christianity, and that what they lack, and the lack is very serious, is what the Christian Gospel alone can impart; and I know that beneath the shining example of the elect few in the non-Christian world there is a vast area of idolatry and pollution and unrest and superstition and cruelty, which can never be healed by the forces which are found in the non-Christian systems."

6. We are confirmed accordingly in the conviction with which, as we freely admitted, the missionary enterprise starts out, without which there would not be any missionary enterprise, that Christianity alone is adequate for all the needs of the world, and that it is to all the world that it must be carried. We believe

that it is adequate because, to recapitulate, a comparison of Christianity with other religions shows that it has a unique and superior conception of God. It "has such a conception of God as no other religion has attained; and what is more, it proclaims and brings to pass such an experience of God as humanity has never elsewhere known. . . . The God of Christianity is one, the sole source, Lord and end of all. He is holy, being in Himself the character that is the sole standard for all beings. He is love, reaching out to save the world from sin and fill it with His own goodness. He is wise, knowing how to accomplish His heart's desire. He is Father in heart, looking upon His creatures as His own and seeking their welfare. All this truth concerning Himself He has made known in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, in whom His redemptive will has found expression and His saving love has come forth to all mankind. . . . The conception of God with which Christianity addresses the world is the best that man can form or entertain."—(CLARKE, "A Study of Christian Missions," pp. 10, 11, 18.) And it is a conception belonging to Christianity alone. The world can only know its God through Christianity. Other religions express the sense of human dependence. They do not give the longing souls their God. Other religions speak of a higher truth, as the Buddhists do in their appeal, of "The great truth shining above," but only one reveals that truth in a loving, personal God, "Our Father." Other religions utter man's feelings of helplessness, but only one tells of a Divine Saviour who offers man forgiveness of sin and salvation through His death, and Who is now a living person working in and with all who believe in Him to make them holy and righteous and pure.

Christianity also is the only religion of moral efficiency and power. The Japanese papers candidly acknowledged the inferiority of Buddhism in its practical ministry to the soldiers in the late war. As the *Kyokawai Jiji,* a Buddhist journal, said:

Numerically speaking, Buddhism far outranks Christianity; but, by reason of actual work accomplished, the balance of power is in favour of the Christians. General hatred against Chris-

tianity is passing away, and the belief that it is better adapted to the new condition of things is daily gaining ground. Buddhist customs and rites are becoming more and more alien to the interests of society and Buddhist temples and priests are often the subject of public ridicule.

The war-correspondents declare the unfitness and inability of the Buddhist priests, and the more thoughtful of these priests who are at the front lament bitterly their co-workers' ignorance, senselessness, and idleness, which have caused the soldiers to ridicule them and also to become tired of them. On the other hand, the quarters of the Christians are regarded as a paradise for the soldiers, and they are welcome everywhere.

The enormous amount of Y200,000 has been expended by the Honganji (the largest Buddhist sect in Japan) for the work among the soldiers, but it is far inferior to the work of the Christian Association, whose expenditure amounts only to a few thousand yen. The work of the Christians has attained such success that it has reached the Emperor's ear; while that of the Buddhists is always attended by debts and disturbances.

When Shaku Soyen, one of the representatives of Japanese Buddhism in Chicago at the Parliament of Religions, came recently to Gobo to preach, one of his old students, Mr. Iwahashi, went to call on him, and remarked: "I have now become a Christian, and am preaching Jesus." Shaku replied: "The Christian religion is a religion that has a power over the lives of men which I long to see in our Buddhism." This superior moral power of Christianity is due to the fact that it is the only religion which identifies religion and ethics, which makes righteousness the life and faith of men, and which utters itself in holy obedience and service. (See article in *The Independent,* December 15, 1898, by A. H. Bradford, "Does the World Need Christianity?") Christianity is the one lifting religion, which takes hold of classes and of races, as of men, and gives them a new life. As a "Brahman" wrote in *The Madras Mail* (Quoted in "White Already to Harvest," May, 1901):

It is above this degrading and narrow influence of caste and custom that the Hindu religion must rise, if it is to fulfil its function as a social institution apart from its function as a force promoting the affinity between soul and God. The Hindus have seldom recognised religion as a social institution, with the

material happiness of man among its legitimate ends. The Hindu religion never cared to organise itself in order to be able to control the secular interests of society, and consequently, unlike Christianity, it is losing its hold, if it has ever acquired a hold, on the minds of the great masses. There was never in India any such organisation as a Hindu Church, corresponding to the Christian Church in Western countries. The *mats* and monasteries established here and there are centres of spiritual education, to keep alive ecclesiastical authority and ancient tenets; but they never professed to concern themselves with the general condition of the people. In the Western countries modern opinion insists on the Christian Church taking part—a leading and effective part—in every good work done for the alleviation of suffering and promotion of happiness; and its past history is a laudable record of work done for the elevation of the poor, the redress of social wrongs, and the general progress of humanity. The Hindu religion boasts of no such record, and if any modernisation of it is possible, it should abandon its attitude of passive exclusiveness, of cold indifference to the grossest and most cruel wrongs that caste and custom inflict on the poorer classes. It should develop new energies and come forward as a friend of the poor and oppressed. It is this practical spirit of charity and friendliness to suffering humanity that must permeate the modernised Hindu religion. What thought educated Hindus of modern times may give to their religion must be chiefly dominated by this spirit, which is in entire accord with the grandest and the most earnest teaching of all true religion. In proportion as religion fulfils this great function, it will justify the devotion it exacts from intelligent minds. It is this superiority of the Christian over the Hindu religion that is undermining its hold on the people. It has already lost a good deal of its old ground. When it was safe against all foreign influence, it could tyrannise over the poor as it liked. But the Mohammedan religion, by taking the poorer class under its shelter and by its attack on the Hindu caste system, first shook the social basis of Hindu religion; and Christianity, with its organised and infinitely superior resources, is delivering harder blows. Enlightened and patriotic Hindus should take warning betimes and place the religion of their ancestors on a more practical and utilitarian footing, if its future is to be saved and its position strengthened among the great religions of civilised mankind.

And Christianity is not only found to be the one religion of power. It is found also to be the one universal religion. It

cannot be otherwise for it is the only religion with a universal God, and it is the only religion which provides for ceaseless progress and for the ever-enlarging knowledge of God and life. "That is exactly what is wanting in the old religions. There lacks in every one of them the principles of progress, and that element of universality which is Christianity's distinctive glory. They have no special promise in them. Their fatal lack of motive power, their imperfect morality, and their incapacity to give vitality and vigour to their principles, is the secret of their failure. Social degeneracy is the historic outcome. There is no trace in them of any 'modern element' of universal adaptation to the wants of men. They have reflected the climate, country, race, time, in which they arose; and whatever influence they may have exerted, they did not draw nations out of the beaten track in which they had lived. 'Notwithstanding the material and political revolutions which they underwent,' says M. Guizot, 'these ancient nations followed in the same ways, and retained the same propensities as before.' For the old creeds are not fitted to harmonise with the intellectual, social, and moral progress of the modern world."—(SLATER, "The Higher Hinduism," p. 283 f; HUME, "Missions from the Modern View," p. 13 ff.)

Whether, accordingly, Christianity is to be called absolute or not we will not dispute. We only believe that it is absolutely needed by all the world, and that the world must wait for its satisfaction, for the completion of all its vague yearnings, of its half-lights, of its hopes, which are half-despairs, and for the purging of its sins and the lighting of its darkness, which is itself the promise of light, until Christ comes to it carried by those who know Him and God in Him, and in Him as the light of all the world. (See WESTCOTT, "Religious Thought in the West," ch. on "The Absoluteness of Christianity.")

If what I have been setting forth is the truth, then the missionary enterprise is morally justified by the comparison of Christianity with the non-Christian religions. That is expressing it tamely. The enterprise is not only morally justified, it is morally necessary. Christians owe it both to their God and to

the world to carry the enterprise to completion. If Christianity is such a religion as this, it "deserves possession of the world. It has the right to offer itself boldly to all men, and to displace all other religions, for no other religion offers what it brings. It is the best that the world contains. Because of its doctrine and experience of the perfect God, it is the best that the world can attain. Its contents can be unfolded and better known, but they cannot be essentially improved upon. At heart, Christianity is simply the revelation of the perfect God, doing the work of perfect love and holiness for His creatures, and transforming men into His own likeness, so that they will do the works of love and holiness toward their fellows. Than this nothing can be better. Therefore, Christianity has full right to be a missionary religion, and Christians are called to be a missionary people."—(CLARKE, "A Study of Christian Missions," p. 19 ff.; *The American Journal of Theology,* January, 1907, art. by HENRY C. MABIE, "Has Christianity the Moral Right to Supplant the Ethnic Faiths?")

Two questions remain for us to consider, one, I think, largely speculative, the other intensely practical. Have the non-Christian religions prepared the way for Christianity? And what should be the attitude of Christianity toward the non-Christian religions?

On the first of these questions conflicting judgments are offered to us. On the one side, men say that these religions have made ready for the acceptance of Christianity. "The fundamental requisites of all religious teaching," says Dr. Martin of China, "are two, viz., first, a belief in God, *i.e.,* in some effective method of divine government; second, belief in the immortality of the soul, *i.e.,* in a future state of being, whose condition is determined by our conduct in the present life. These cardinal doctrines we find accepted everywhere in China. There are, it is true, those who deny them, but such are Confucianists, not Buddhists; and I do not hesitate to affirm that for the general prevalence of both, China is mainly indebted to the agency of Buddhists," and he calls Buddhism a "stock in which the vine of Christ may be grafted."—(*Chinese Recorder,* May,

1889; Art. by W. A. P. MARTIN, "Is Buddhism a Preparation for Christianity?") Canon Isaac Taylor saw in Islam "not an anti-Christian faith, but a half-Christian faith, an imperfect Christianity," a religion preparatory to an advanced Christian faith, an advance guard for Christian missions where it precedes Christianity among non-Christian peoples. Dr. Timothy Richard finds in the Mahayana School of Buddhism, as represented especially in "The Awakening of Faith" of Ashvagosha, simply an Asiatic form of the Gospel, not to be feared as a foe, but to be greeted as a friend. (RICHARD'S Translation of "The Awakening of Faith," pp. vi, viii.) On the other hand, Dr. Nevius held that the non-Christian religions, as the bitter experiences of his life had convinced him, instead of being upward steps of man in an advancing evolutionary movement toward the truth were in practical effect devices by which men fell away from the truth and buttressed themselves in error. In his book on "China and the Chinese" he says plainly of the religions of China: "These forms of idolatry, while they evidence God's revelation of Himself in the human soul, are, with the most consummate art, so devised as to lead the soul farther and farther from God, and to turn the truth of God into a lie."—(NEVIUS, "China and the Chinese," p. 157.) As to Mohammedanism, Dr. Dennis declares that we cannot "consider Islam as a step towards Christianity. It is rather an attitude of pronounced opposition to Christianity, and not to Christianity only, but to civilisation and to all social and intellectual and spiritual progress."—(*Missionary Review of the World,* August, 1899; Art. "Islam and Christian Missions.") And Bishop Lefroy, while with Dr. Dennis recognising the good in Islam, is constrained to fear that "in the subtlety of the devil those very truths seem to have been used to safeguard a citadel of fearful error."—(Cambridge Mission, Occasional Paper 21, "Mohammedanism," p. 15.)

But these views are not as contradictory as they appear, and there are some reconciling suggestions which may be made, upon some of which at least all will agree. (1) A religious mind is much better for Christianity to work upon than

an irreligious mind. As Archbishop Benson said some years ago at a meeting of the S. P. G.: "A religious tone of mind, though heathen, is a better field for Christian effort than a non-religious tone of mind. . . . It is not true, that the mind from which every possible superstition has been banished, until it becomes a *tabula rasa,* is in a better state of receptivity for the truths we have in hand than a mind that still retains its religious tone. . . . I fear that if we have one single generation intervening, which has no religious habits, no thought beyond the grave, no tone which makes it perpetually look up to that which is beyond it and above it, we shall find it a harder task to convert the children of that generation than to convert the polished heathen, however firmly they hold to their old faith." India and Japan witness to the reasonableness of this fear, and warn the destructive forces of civilisation to beware how they destroy that which they do not replace. And, indeed, in every mission field, as a simple matter of fact, the earnest and serviceable Christian men are those who were earnest and zealous followers of the religion of their fathers. Christianity will succeed best where it has religious faculties to which it can give new objects, not where it must both give the objects and create the faculties.

(2) But the non-Christian religions are not only an exercise of the religious faculties, an expression of the religious nature of man, they are also encumbrances upon the religious nature. That is true of the low superstitions of men which hold them in base fear, and it is true also of the higher religions, for reasons which we have already considered, but which I venture to set forth again in the clear statement of Dr. Clarke:

> As for the low religions, fetishistic and animistic, they may once have been upward calls, though they called but a little way upward; but they are not such now. They rule by terror, and maintain a tyranny over the religious powers of those who live under them. The unseen powers that are worshipped are usually regarded as unfriendly, and dreaded for the harm that they can do. Hence the perpetual deprecations and propitiations. Ages of such feeling and practice have produced a habitual fearfulness, and a complete inability to shake off the incubus of dread.

The religious instinct is stopped from going higher, without being really satisfied, and the religion that holds it thus in hard constraint is rather an encumbrance than an inspiration and a comfort.

The higher religions would seem able to do more for the satisfaction of the religious nature. Some of them have a profound philosophy, and have raised certain noble souls to a fervent devotion. Some of them contain lofty thoughts and worthy prayers, uttered and recorded long ago by choice spirits. Yet in sad reality the higher religions rank with the lower, as encumbrances upon the religious nature of mankind. How true this is, and how it comes to pass, a glance at some facts in the great historic religions will suffice to show.

In Confucianism the religious nature of man is almost left out of account. Among the common people, the highest satisfaction that it receives is provided in the worshipping of ancestors. The field of religion is occupied almost wholly by ethics, and by ethics moving on the plane of human relations. The whole Confucian system is exactly a burden or encumbrance on the religious nature, preventing it from coming to its due development. Religion suffers from being subordinated to ethics. In Buddhism, and in Hinduism too, the religious nature has a different weight to bear. A pessimistic philosophy suppresses it. The doctrine of universal and dominant evil, so great and deep as to make all existence a curse to those who suffer it, is too much for religious life and feeling to thrive under, and religion dies down discouraged, as it must where there is no hope. Religion suffers from being complicated with a philosophy of despair. In Hinduism, as in the Baal-worship that the Hebrews knew, the religious nature is fast wrought in with the non-moral nature-powers and the animal element in man, and the combination is commemorated in lustful and degrading rites. When religion comes to expression on the side of feeling, its outlet is found in what is gross and cruel, and bloodshed and lust come to be elements in the ceremonial. Thus the religious nature is degraded, and religion suffers from alliance with nature-powers and animal impulses. In Mohammedanism the religious nature finds yet another burden. Here there is one God, who is declared to be the holy and merciful, but he is altogether transcendent, and not accessible to any real fellowship of man. His will is man's guide, but only from above and afar, to be obeyed only in absolute submission, not in filial life and love. So the religious nature finds no warm exercise, and is set free only to works of obedient routine or else of fanatical fervour. Religion

suffers from the chill of bare sovereignty. Thus in one of the great religions the religious nature of man is imprisoned in human ethics; in another, it is depressed by a dark philosophy; in another, it is corrupted by coarse feeling; in another, it is deadened by want of the warmth of divine love. In other words, in Confucianism, where the religious movement is ethical, the ethics become human and religion is lost. In Buddhism, where it is philosophical, the philosophy becomes pessimistic, and religion dies out. In Hinduism, where it is emotional, the emotion becomes degrading, and religion is defiled. In Mohammedanism, where it is doctrinal, the doctrine becomes cold and lifeless, and religion is atrophied. Everywhere the great historic religions of the world have come to be encumbrances upon the religious nature of man. Everywhere it is the religious nature that suffers under their influence. Nowhere is that nature permitted to rise to its true proportions and develop its rightful worth.—(CLARKE, "A Study of Christian Missions," pp. 102-105.)

These religions do contain foregleams of truth, or as some would say, aftergleams, but their errors and contradictions of truth are essential and integral parts of them. Take Buddhism, for example. "It progressed up to a certain point; it preached purity in thought, word, and deed, though only for the accumulation of merit; it proclaimed the brotherhood of humanity; it avowed sympathy with social liberty and freedom; it gave back much independence to women; it inculcated universal benevolence, extending even to animals; and from its declaration that a man's future depended on his present acts and conditions, it did good service for a time in preventing stagnation, promoting activity, and elevating the character of humanity. But if, after making all these concessions," says Sir Monier Williams, "I am told that on my own showing Buddhism was a kind of introduction to Christianity, or that Christianity is a kind of development of Buddhism, I must ask you to bide with me a little longer, while I point out certain contrasts, which ought to make it clear to any reasonable man how vast, how profound, how impassable is the gulf separating the true religion from a mere system of morality founded on a form of pessimistic philosophy."—(MONIER WILLIAMS, "Mystical Buddhism," p. 24.) And then he proceeds to point out those radical contradictions between

Buddhism and Christianity, which can only be regarded as a preparation for Christianity in the same sense in which error is a preparation for truth. In simple fact, there are agreements and disagreements in fundamental things between Christianity and each other religion. The disagreements overbalance the agreements and constitute the essential character of Christianity. The question would seem to be as to whether the truths which the non-Christian religions hold will draw them to Christianity more powerfully than their errors will repel them from it.

(3) In theory the non-Christian religions are expressions of man's sense of need and incompleteness, and viewed as seekings after God, ought to prepare men for the full truth. Twilight ought to prepare for day, unless, indeed, it be the other twilight. Phillips Brooks has put the noble view of the welcome fulfilment by Christianity of all the hopes of men in his sermon on "Disciples and Apostles." ("Twenty Sermons," Sermon IX, p. 170.)

I think again that it is wonderful how many people who understand perfectly what the Gospel is, in the work that it does for them, are all wrong in their conception of what the Gospel has to do for the world, and so have false conceptions about the whole possibility of missions. They talk as if what the religion of Jesus had to do was to go a perfect stranger into a dark land, with whose people it had before had no concern, to cast out everything that they had ever believed, to falsify all their hopes, to begin their life all over again. Perhaps they thought the same thing once about themselves. Perhaps they stood for years untouched by Christianity, because Christianity seemed to them to be the utter destruction of all that they had ever been, or thought, or hoped. They could not understand it. It was all strange and foreign to them. But by and by Christ really came, and lo! He was the revealer of that old life. He purified that old self; but it was it still, purified and saved, that He set up to be the burden of their thanksgiving. The old hopes were enlightened: the old ignorant prayers were fulfilled. It was as when the Apostles went out and cried up and down Judea, "The Messiah has come," and Judea understood itself. It was as when Paul stood on Mars Hill and cried, "Whom you ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you"; and the altar to the unknown God burst for the first time into the bright

blaze of an intelligent sacrifice. And that is what the Christian religion, fulfilling its missionary duty, has to do for all the world. It is the great interpreter of the religious heart of man. Its manifested God speaks, and the divine voices throughout all the world become intelligible. Its message is declared, and countless oracles, that were all blind, win a clear meaning. Its sacrifice is held up, and the heathen altar drops its veil of superstition and discerns its own long-lost intention. Its Son of Man goes with His gracious footsteps through the hosts of heathen barbarians, and their sonship to God leaps into consciousness and life.

This is the noble view which we all want to believe. But did Judea understand itself when it saw Christ? Did the altar on Mars' Hill blaze after Paul with the fire of an intelligent sacrifice, the sacrifice of the broken heart made new? Among the hosts of the non-Christian peoples, does their sonship to God leap into consciousness and life and obedience at the sound of the Gospel? Did it when Dr. Hall preached to them with as conciliatory and winning a voice as it is possible for the Gospel to use, and when Phillips Brooks talked with Keshub Chunder Sen? Is it, after all, not a simple question of facts? Judaism prepared the way for Christianity, but it did not prepare the Jews for either Christianity or Christ. He came unto His own and His own received Him not. Phillips Brooks preached to men the Lord Christ's fulfilment of the hopes and longings of their hearts, and here and there a man answered and was made complete in Christ, but the great mass of those who heard him were only as those who had listened to a pleasant song. There was a time when Dr. Barrows also held this view. "'The glory of Christianity!' said Professor Jowett," wrote Dr. Barrows in the full flush of enthusiasm over his parliament, "'is not to be as unlike other religions as possible, but to be their perfection and fulfilment.' As Judaism and Christianity were reconciled in the Epistle to the Hebrews, so Buddhism and Christianity, Hinduism and Christianity, Confucianism and Christianity, Islam and Christianity, are yet to be reconciled by some supreme minds, who will show to India, China, Japan, Arabia, that in Christ all that is good and true in their faiths has been embodied and completed by a special revelation."—(*The*

Forum, September, 1894, art. by J. H. Barrows, "Results of the Parliament of Religions," p. 62.) Well, those supreme minds will have to do their proposed work more effectively than the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews did his. So Judaism and Christianity were reconciled in that Epistle? Where, then, did the Judaism we have known ever since come from, the million of Jews in New York City who are unreconciled to Christianity? The Epistle demonstrated the superiority and fulfilling glory of Christianity, but it neither made Christians of the Jews nor absorbed Judaism in Christianity. The Gospel came to the Jews as it goes now to the world. Some men, at least, have preached it without denying it. It has found here and there the sheep of Christ, who have recognised their Shepherd's voice. But, as a matter of fact, the non-Christian religions have thus far proved as poor schoolmasters as Judaism to bring men to Christ. It may be held that, with Judaism, this was their mission, but that is to throw us back on the mystery of God's method in the education of mankind, and it is to present to faith a proposition regarding the philosophy of history as yet unconfirmed by the facts. Some day we shall know what part the non-Christian religions played in the economy of God. We do not know now.

What, then, we ask finally, should be the attitude of Christianity toward them?

The New Testament apostles and the Old Testament prophets had to deal either with non-Christian religions or with faiths at variance with Hebrew monotheism. Without sharing his criticism, we will let a modern writer describe their attitude:

> Paul judges the alien religions from the position of strict Jewish monotheism, and his estimate of them is lacking in breadth and sympathy. He makes no allowance for the elements of good that were mingled with the error, for the higher thoughts and aspirations which had only found an imperfect utterance. Comparing Christianity with Paganism he saw nothing but an unqualified contrast of light and darkness, knowledge and ignorance, life and death. When we apply it literally to any form of heathen religion, Paul's criticism is inadequate and unjust; but none the less we cannot but recognise the truth at the heart of it. The heathen spirit, which refuses to know the invisible things by the

things that are made, is always the same, under many different manifestations. It was this spirit which Paul condemned with unequalled power and insight, and his words have still their meaning and their warning for our world to-day. . . .

It is an axiom in Paul's psychology that the νοῦς, the inward mind which is the core of man's being, is directed to God, although its will is rendered impotent by the will of the flesh. In the case of the Jews, this inward mind was still struggling to assert itself, but the heathen, puffed up with the sense of their own wisdom, had allowed it to grow paralysed. Spiritual beings, they had denied their higher affinities, and had offered their worship to the merely natural, putting the creature in place of the Creator. Not only was the true mind thus rendered inoperative, but "since they cared not to retain God in their knowledge, He gave them over to a reprobate mind." The light that was in them changed into darkness; the divine principle was replaced by an active principle of evil, which wholly mastered them.

It may be objected to Paul's analysis that it is not in strict accordance with historical fact. Heathenism, as we are now aware, was not in its origin a rebellion against the sovereignty of God. It was not the corruption of a higher primitive faith, but the first stage in a religious development. Even Jewish monotheism was preceded by crude forms of nature-worship, which only gradually gave way to the ethical teaching of the great prophets. Paul's real object, however, is not to trace out the historical genesis of Pagan religion, but to determine its ultimate meaning and character. It had set the creature in the place of the Creator. It had failed to perceive that above the natural there is a spiritual world, in relation to which man's life and destiny must be interpreted. The heathen were "without God in the world" (Eph. ii: 12); and through their blindness to the supreme reality their life was reduced to a chaos, their feelings and thoughts and actions were hopelessly perverted. In its substance, Paul's criticism thus holds good, not merely in regard to heathen worship proper, but in regard to the naturalism which threatens ever and again to displace religion. Laplace, asked by Napoleon whether he allowed no room for God within his system, is said to have declared, "I do not find that I require any such hypothesis." Paul would answer that the world becomes simply unintelligible to those who will not retain God in their knowledge. Professing themselves to be wise, they are made foolish. Their error may not be demonstrable by reason, but it comes to light in the practical attempt to live as though there were no God above the natural forces. Such a life contains

in it the principle of dissolution. Leave out the spiritual and the natural will fall to pieces, being emptied of its inward meaning and reality.—(Scott, "The Apologetic of the New Testament," pp. 125, 144 ff.)

Shall we take the same attitude with St. Paul, or has our knowledge of religions, of which Paul was ignorant, and our view of God's relation to the world made that impossible? But no one knows the non-Christian religions better than the men who from a long personal association with them as adherents are now in a position to compare them with Christianity, which they have come to know by personal experience, men like Nehemiah Goreh and Imad-ud din. Shall we take their attitude? Dr. Imad-ud din tells us: "I found nothing in Mohammedanism from which an unprejudiced man might in his heart derive true hope and real comfort, though I searched for it earnestly in the Koran, the Traditions, and also in Sufism. Rites, ceremonies, and theories I found in abundance, but not the slightest spiritual benefit does a man get by acting on them. He remains fast held in the grip of darkness and death. . . . I discovered that the religion of Mohammed is not of God, and that the Mohammedans have been deceived, and are lying in error; and that salvation is surely to be found in the Christian religion." It must be recognised that this is the general attitude of Christians who had been Mohammedans or Hindus or believers in some other faith. As Dr. H. Martyn Clark says:

The unanimity of all converts from Islam concerning that religion is emphatic and startling. "Earthly, sensual, devilish," is invariably in effect their deliverance. Not one of them has ever found it aught else but an evil and debasing thing. They have not felt the genial influences or vitalising power of any of the truths it is supposed to contain. The statement that it has such truths is in itself a revelation to them, and when they hear such have been discovered to exist, their answer, to that and other theories now rather the fashion concerning Islam, is a pitying smile, and a "Well! well! It was our faith and that of our fathers before us; we do not know of these things, nor have we so found it." As for its being a help towards God and good, it has been their sorest hindrance in the way of life. It

has made the acceptance of Christian truth all the more difficult, and the Christian life infinitely harder. One of the best native pastors said: "After many years of Christianity the poison of Mohammedanism still works in our muscles and makes us weak." They err who think Islam a development, an advance from a lower to a higher plane. It is in reality a retrogression, a degeneration from a higher to a lower state. I took one convert to task for his unbridled speech. His reply was: "My father, you can afford to speak kindly of the thing. You were never steeped to the lips in that mire as I have been. Were it not for God's mercy, where would I be now?"—(From *The Church Missionary Intelligencer,* November, 1894: "Some Results of the Late Mohammedan Controversy," by Dr. H. Martyn Clark, p. 814 ff.)

There are converts who take a different attitude. A friend writes from India of a Christian layman, once a Mohammedan, who is now a great champion of Christianity as against the Moslem religious propaganda, and who says:

I have been proving the sublimity of the Christian religion and endeavouring to show that the Christian counterpart of everything good in doctrine and morality in Islam is always superior, and that Mohammedanism, even at its highest, is only the next best, and that from a true Koranic point of view the religion of the Gospels is open to no question whatever. It is rather the goal to which all the religions of the world aspire to reach. My conception of Islam is more optimistic. I despair of the Islam which obtains among the so-called Orthodox, and it is only these whose weakness I would expose. The Islam of the Koran, with its Asian Christology, is a fine amalgam of Indiaism and Christianity. It is the Nazarene form of Christianity, confounded with certain social and religious prejudices of the time and the country, and can be very rightly regarded, "rather as a heresy than as an alien faith," but not more heretical than so many ancient and modern ones.

What then, amid these divergent views, shall we say that the attitude of Christianity ought to be?

1. First of all, it should be consistent. Christianity in the missionary enterprise, in its special lecturers and representatives, and in its reception of representatives of the non-Christian re-

ligions when they visit Western lands, should take a consistent position. The relations of Christianity to the other religions are not variable. If it is our right and duty to take an attitude in foreign missions and to project our enterprise on the conviction that Christianity is the universal religion, and ought to be the personal faith of every man, it is neither just nor honourable to belie that attitude in any of our relations.

2. Christianity should joyfully recognise all the good that is in the non-Christian religions and build upon it. This is the attitude it has taken from the beginning of the history of its missionary relations. Harnack has eloquently described its policy:

> From the very outset Christianity came forward with a spirit of *universalism,* by dint of which it laid hold of the *entire life of men* in all its functions, throughout its heights and depths, in all its feelings, thoughts, and actions. This guaranteed its triumph. In and with its universalism it also declared that the Jesus whom it preached was the *Logos.* To him it referred everything that could possibly be deemed of human value, and from him it carefully excluded whatever belonged to the purely natural sphere. From the very first it embraced humanity and the world, despite the small number of the elect whom it contemplated. Hence it was that those very powers of attraction, by means of which it was enabled at once to absorb and to subordinate the whole of Hellenism, had a new light thrown upon them. They appeared almost in the light of a necessary feature in that age. Sin and foulness it put far from itself. But otherwise it built itself up by the aid of any element whatsoever that was still capable of vitality. Such elements it crushed as rivals and conserved as materials of its own life. It could do so for one reason —a reason which no one voiced, and of which no one was conscious, yet which every truly pious member of the Church expressed in his own life. The reason was that Christianity, viewed in its essence, was something simple, something which could blend with coefficients of the most diverse nature, something which, in fact, sought out all such coefficients. For Christianity, in its simplest terms, meant God as the Father, the Judge, and the Redeemer of men, revealed in and through Jesus Christ.
>
> And was not victory the due to this religion? *Alongside* of other religions it could not hold its own for any length of time; still less could it succumb. Yes, victory was inevitable. It had

to conquer. All the motives which operated in its extension are as nothing when taken one by one, in face of the propaganda which it exercised by means of its own development from Paul to Origen, a development which maintained withal a strictly exclusive attitude toward polytheism and idolatry of every kind. . . .

It has been our endeavour to decipher the reasons for this astonishing expansion. These reasons, on the one hand, were native to the very essence of the religion (as monotheism and as evangel). On the other hand, they lay in its versatility and amazing power of adaptation. But it baffles us to determine the relative amount of impetus exerted by each of the forces which characterised Christianity; to ascertain, *e.g.,* how much was due to its spiritual monotheism, to its preaching of Jesus Christ, to its hope of immortality, to its active charity and system of social aid, to its discipline and organisation, to its syncretistic capacity and contour, or to the skill which it developed in the third century for surpassing the fascinations of any superstition whatsoever. Christianity was a religion which proclaimed the living God, for whom man was made. It also brought men life and knowledge, unity and multiplicity, the known and the unknown. Born of the spirit, it soon learnt to consecrate the earthly. To the simple it was simple; to the sublime, sublime. It was a universal religion, in the sense that it enjoined precepts binding upon all men, and also in the sense that it brought men what each individual specially craved. Christianity became a Church, a Church for the world, and thereby it secured the use of all possible means of authority, besides the sword itself. It continued to be exclusive, and yet it drew to itself any outside element that was of any value. By this sign it conquered; for on all human things, on what was eternal, and on what was transient alike, Christianity had set the cross.—(HARNACK, "The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries," Vol. I, pp. 145 f, 467 f.)

This, minus the compromises, is what Christianity is doing still. It must build on something; it cannot build on nothing. It builds as ever on all that it finds that is capable of redemption, of being wrought into the eternal and universal kingdom. "It is in the power of the Gospel to enter sympathetically the past of Japan and China, and the wonderful reach and wideness of Hindu history, and put upon the whole expanse the light of its own divine interpretation. It can, in a way, identify

itself with the great traditions of all these people, make them live their long histories over again, and read their deeper meanings into itself. It can, without in the least endangering its unique character, appear in the light of those empires, and come in the colours which are dear to them; it can put on as dress many of the intellectual habits that are inseparable from their constitution. Until the Jew saw his Judaism transfigured in Christianity, he could not abandon the old faith for the new; until the Greek beheld the vision of Plato under grander forms in the mission of Christ, he could not forsake the Academy for the Church; until the Roman discovered in the sign of the cross a diviner form of the victorious power after which he thirsted, he could not change his allegiance; and until China shall see Confucius idealised and transcended in our Master, and Japan her beggarly elements glorified in the Christian inheritance, and India her sublime names taken out of the region of imagination and in our Lord made the equivalent of the moral order of the universe, we cannot expect them to become His disciples."—(G. A. Gordon, "The Gospel of Humanity," p. 14.) This is precisely the attitude of the missionary movement. It welcomes and uses and completes all that it can. It borrows all the familiar vocabulary that can be made tributary to the larger truth. (Kelly, "Another China," p. 49.) It roots its conceptions in whatever is found akin to them. It makes any such kindred ideas the grounds of appeal to the home Church. A missionary calls for larger work among the Ali Illahees in Persia because "(a) They believe in incarnations of the Deity. (b) Many of them venerate David as their greatest prophet. Hence they are willing to listen to the voice of David's Son, Jesus. (c) Curious customs exist among them which might almost be considered as borrowed from a crude form of Christianity." It is on what is common ground alone that men can meet. It is the power already working in men that is to be consecrated and enlarged and turned to the will of God. (Dennis, "Islam and Christianity," p. 19.) The words of Principal Grant's introduction to his little book on "The Religions of the World" describe truly the attitude of missions:

The writer of this little volume believes that Jesus is "the way, the truth, and the life," and that His religion is the absolute religion. Therefore, he believes it to be right and wise to call attention to the excellent features of other religions rather than to their defects; to the good rather than to the bad fruit which they have borne; in a word, to treat them as a rich man should treat his poorer brothers, drawing near to and touching them, getting on common ground, and then sharing with them his rich inheritance. He does not pretend that an adequate account will be found here of all the phases of any one of the great religions; but a sketch is attempted, in the spirit that should animate an intelligent Confucianist, Hindoo, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, to whom the task of describing Christianity briefly was assigned.

It is these words which Mr. Slater quotes when he sets forth the actual attitude of the men and women who are doing the work of foreign missions in the midst of the non-Christian faiths:

He who reverently and sympathetically studies the way in which various races have worshipped God, while loathing the degrading rite still loving the misguided devotee, will increase his power to lead on his fellow-men to greater light; since the measure of a man's love is the measure of his power. We shall never gain the non-Christian world until we treat its religions with justice, courtesy, and love; "treat them as a rich man should treat his poorer brothers, drawing near to them, getting on common ground with them, and then sharing with them his rich inheritance." For those religious truths which have been venerated for ages as the felt facts of man's inner consciousness, we claim for the spiritual Christ who was immanent as grace and truth in human thought prior to the Incarnation, the Light of every saint and seer who has relieved the darkness of the pagan world.

Religions illuminate one another; and though it is true that other shastras yield the student of the New Testament little spiritual aliment for his soul, yet Christianity cannot be fully appreciated unless viewed in relation to other historic faiths; and the study of comparative religion, which should be diligently pursued by all intending missionaries, and which demonstrates, not only that man was made for religion, but what religion he was made for, is one of the most promising and fruitful for the future of the Church and of the world. Discovering, as it does, points of contact and elements of truth in systems outside

our own; that no religion lies in utter isolation from the rest, but that each, being the manifestation of a human want, has had a *raison d'être,* a place to fill, and a work to do, in the great evolutionary scheme; it has led to the cultivation of a broader and more generous spirit towards these ancient faiths which have endured precisely according to the amount of truth they have contained, to the fitness of their doctrine for the special circumstances of race and culture, and to the degree in which they have witnessed to Him Who is the "Heir of all the ages," the Fulfiller of "the unconscious prophecies of heathendom."

In the light of a Providential guidance, those religious societies that have advanced through centuries of growth, and written the pathetic story of their human interests and endeavours, their aspirations and their miseries, in their temples, laws, and homes, are destined for a diviner purpose than to be swept away as vestiges of evil, with no message to be delivered to the modern world. For, rightly conceiving the depth and height and exceeding breadth of Christ's religion, we behold it assimilating and adapting all that was valuable in the ancient civilisations; drawing into its pure and onward current all that was best in the fields of virtue and truth; finding expression for all the various aspirations that are separately emphasised by the old religions; gathering up, explaining, and consummating the lessons of all previous revelations; while, at the same time, fully and forever proving the incompleteness or the falsity of the views that have kept humanity from God.—(SLATER, "The Higher Hinduism," pp. 1-3.)

3. But in the third place, Christianity should not slur or ignore the points of difference. These points of difference are radical. It is from them that the missionary movement springs. If they are of no significance, Christianity's whole claim, both abroad and at home, is untenable. But the comparison of religions reveals the vital, or perhaps we should say the deadly reality of the distinctions between Christianity and other faiths. Recall Hinduism, for example, as the religion whose opposition to Christianity to-day rests on the claim that it includes all the truth of Christianity. Is it so? Christianity asserts the existence of a personal God. Hinduism, except as influenced by Christianity, denies it. Christianity asserts the separateness of man and all creatures from the Creator. Hinduism, except as influ-

enced by Christianity, affirms that they are identical with God. Christianity asserts the freedom of the will. Hinduism, except as influenced by Christianity, denies it, and affirms an unbending necessity. Christianity assumes the trustworthiness of our own consciousness. Hinduism, except as influenced by Christianity, denies it; all is maya, illusion. (KELLOGG, "Hinduism," p. 12.) Christianity has far more that is unique than appears until we have compared it with other religions. It is the actual comparison which brings out the enormous differences. This is illustrated in that interesting book, "Five Years in a Persian Town."

It will perhaps be felt by some [says Mr. Malcolm in the preface] that more ought to be made of the points in common between Islam and Christianity. The fact is that when the people come to the missionary they do not want to find agreement but disagreement, and consequently the missionary gets to think not so much of what they know as of what they do not know. So a missionary writer is, perhaps, inclined to pass over common points, whatever religion he is writing about. In the case of Islam there are really not many to note, and in support of this statement I may relate a story told by an officer of Indian troops. One day a Mohammedan, in the course of a conversation, said to him: "Of course, Sahib, your religion and ours are very near together. Your Christ is one of our prophets." My friend replied: "What do you mean? Of course Christ is one of your prophets, but to us he is more than a prophet; He is the Son of God and the pattern of our lives. Besides there is hardly a single practical point where Mohammedans and Christians are not entirely at issue." The man looked up and said: "Sahib, you have read the Koran, and you have read your Bible. I always make that remark to Christians: I made it to a padre the other day; and they most always say, 'Very true; Mohammedanism has a great deal in common with Christianity.' Well, Sahib, when they say that, I know that they have not read the Koran and they have not read their Bibles."

Even when there appear to be resemblances between Christianity and other religions, they are underlain by deeper differences. In the matter of the idea of incarnation, for example, the resemblance is merely verbal. The incarnations of Hinduism

were not incarnations of a personal and self-conscious being. They were "means by which a being impersonal and incapable by itself of attaining to conscious existence is enabled through contact with matter to attain to personality."—(BICKERSTETH, "Indian Mohammedans," p. 5 ff.) Now, the truth is not served by the denial or suppression of the truth, and many have risen from the actual comparison of the world's religions with the judgment with which the just-minded Edward Lawrence returned from a careful study of the peoples and beliefs of Asia:

With every disposition to recognise whatever of truth and good may be found in the great Oriental religions, I have been more and more led to the conviction that it will rather harm than help our cause to minimise the differences between Christianity and any other religion. If we make the differences slight, and say to men, "You have but to come a little further, get a little more, and you will be Christians," one of two things will surely follow. Either—and this will be at present most frequently the case in India and China—the one appealed to will respond, "If the difference is slight, since the change to me will be so great in leaving my ancestral faith and encountering certain persecution, I will take the chances and stay where I am." Or—and this would more frequently happen in Japan—he will say, "I come," and bring all his heathenism with him, presuming that it will be quite consistent with Christianity. The Japanese are sensitive to-day about being called heathens, which is a most hopeful sign. But it will not make them any less heathen to call them Christians until they become so through allegiance to Jesus Christ. In Asia, as in Europe and America, Christianity is strong, and is to remain so, through the imperiousness of its claims, and through the absolute assent and exclusive loyalty which it demands. Be the effect of other religions what it may, whether Judaism or Mohammedanism or Hinduism, whether preparatory or obstructive or both at once, Christianity treats every one of them as a usurper on the throne and a misleader of the human heart from its true allegiance.—(LAWRENCE, "Modern Missions in the East," p. 157.)

4. Christianity should make no compromises, but anticipate its own victorious triumph. This is the view of the political statesman who is also the Christian man. "If there is any significance in Christian missions," said the Honourable John

W. Foster on his return in 1884 from a trip around the world, "they mean that the world must be conquered for Christ. The spirit of Christianity, while it inculcates charity towards our erring brothers, tolerates no other religion. Its Founder declared that 'no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' Peter in laying the very first stone of the Christian edifice, filled with the Holy Ghost, boldly announced to the rulers of the people that 'there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.' And the first and greatest missionary, the author of the most beautiful panegyric of charity ever written, exclaims, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? . . . what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?' Neither in Japan nor in any other land can Christianity be compromised with Buddhism or any other Christless religion." And this is the view also of the modern liberal theologian, who is true to Christ and the Christian God:

Our second question is, What does Christianity as a missionary religion propose, with regard to the religions that exist in the world? The answer to this question is, that Christianity proposes to win men away from the other religions by bringing them something better, and to take the place of the other religions in the world.

The attitude of the religion that bears the name of Jesus Christ is not one of compromise, but one of conflict and of conquest. It proposes to displace the other religions. The claim of Jeremiah is the claim of Christianity,—"The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, they shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens." The survival of the Creator, joyfully foreseen, is the ground of its confidence and its endeavour. Christianity thus undertakes a long and laborious campaign, in which it must experience various fortunes and learn patience from trials and delays; but the true state of the case must not be forgotten, namely, that Christianity sets out for victory. The intention to conquer is characteristic of the Gospel. This was the aim of its youth when it went forth among the religions that then surrounded it, and with this aim it must enter any field in which old religions are encumbering the religious nature of man. It cannot conquer except in love, but in love it intends to conquer. It means to fill the world.—(CLARKE, "A Study of Christian Missions," p. 107 ff.)

And this is the view of the scholars who know both Christ and the religions which do not know Him. Edward Lawrence quoted one of the greatest of these, the one who knew Buddhism and Hinduism as well as any, in confirmation of his own deepened conviction:

The work of Christianity [wrote Lawrence] is conquest, not compromise, and the missionary of the cross may exercise a wise intolerance towards all else which claims man's homage.

I cannot do better than to quote from the one among all others perhaps best qualified to speak on this subject, one who, besides giving nearly a half-century to Eastern languages and religions, has of late repeatedly visited India, to see and study it with his own eyes. His words are the more important because, when compared with utterances of the same author before he had visited India, while he knew only the books, they show a marked advance in positiveness of tone. They are, in fact, accompanied by a recantation of former different opinions. They are the words of Sir Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. He had just held up the two statements that "A Sinless Man was made Sin" and that "He, a dead and buried Man, was made Life," as unmatched in any other book of any other religion. "These non-Christian Bibles," he says, "are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of light, and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left hand of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side—all by itself—and with a wide gap between. . . . It requires some courage to appear intolerant in these days of flabby compromise and milk-and-water concession. But I contend that the two unparalleled declarations quoted by me from our Holy Bible make a gulf between it and the so-called sacred books of the East which severs the one from the other utterly, hopelessly, and forever; not a mere rift which may be easily closed up; not a mere rift across which the Christian and non-Christian may shake hands and interchange similar ideas in regard to essential truths, but a veritable gulf which cannot be bridged over by any science of religious thought; yes, a bridgeless chasm which no theory of evolution can ever span. Go forth, then, ye missionaries, in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and after studying all its false religions and philosophies, go forth and fearlessly proclaim to suffering humanity the plain, the unchangeable, the eternal facts of the Gospel—nay, I might almost say the stubborn, the un-

yielding, the inexorable facts of the Gospel. Dare to be downright with all the uncompromising courage of your own Bible, while with it your watchwords are love, joy, peace, reconciliation. Be fair, be charitable, be Christian, but let there be no mistake; let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsee, Confucianist, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, and that whoever wishes to pass from the false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise, or by help of faltering hands held out by half-hearted Christians. He must leap the gulf in faith, and the living Christ will spread His everlasting arms beneath and land him safely on the Eternal Rock."—(LAWRENCE, "Modern Missions in the East," p. 158.)

We are told to-day that we must cease to use the military metaphors with reference to the mission of Christianity. It is a little hard for us to do this who cannot forget the language of the New Testament. But the metaphors are of no consequence. The essential thing is the truth which the metaphors veil, and that truth we believe to be the triumphant, fulfilling conquest of Christianity and the sovereignty of Christ's name over every name.

5. Christianity should welcome all transformations of the thought of the non-Christian peoples which bring that thought nearer to Christianity. These transformations constitute one of the greatest intellectual and moral movements of our time. The new Hinduism, the Vedanta, the Arya Samaj, the various reform movements in India, the whole altered ethical standard of the higher Hinduism, the deepest stirrings among the Hindu peoples, are the direct product of the Christian spirit working on India most purely in the missionary enterprise, and which is transforming the ideal of the people. "I have just returned from an interesting Indian concert, which the hostellers have organised in our Lecture Hall," wrote a missionary from the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, in Allahabad. "It is one of the many signs of change in India. The concert was in aid of the Arya Samaj Orphanage at Agra, and several of the orphans performed. It reminded me of Stepney Causeway and Dr. Barnardo's Homes, which will always have a very warm corner

in my heart since my East End days, when I often dropped in to see the magnificent work going on there. But just imagine an orphanage in India! Who says Christianity is not touching India? Two nights ago a crowd of hostellers came to me in the greatest excitement. They wanted to leave to go down to the annual *mela,* or festival, which is held at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, near the Allahabad fort, and what was their purpose? They had heard that there were many wretched pilgrims who were living in utter squalor and poverty there, and they wished to go and do a little rescue work, and house and feed them properly. Does this seem little to you? Believe me, it is a huge change. A few years ago, no one would have moved a finger—why should they? When a man is born poor and blind, or when misfortune overtakes him, he is only suffering for the misdeeds of a former life, and why should any one else interfere to prevent God giving a man his just reward? Slowly, however, the Christian ideal is permeating India—you see it everywhere. The point of view is changed, the standard of conduct is raised; consciously or unconsciously, India is making Christ the ideal of conduct, and perhaps this is one of the contributing causes to the present dislike of the foreigner. Somehow the materialistic, self-seeking, arrogant Westerner does not suggest the meek and lowly Jesus."—(*C. M. S. Review,* March, 1909; Art. by NORMAN H. TUBBS, "The India Student—India in Transition.")

Under the same transforming influence Shintoism has given up its claims to be considered a religion in Japan. Confucianism is retreating into a ceremonial in China, Mohammedanism is dissolving the bonds of the Koran, and Buddhism is taking over from Christianity everything but its names and its power. "A friend of mine," writes a resident in Japan, "was talking with a certain Buddhist lady about Christianity, when the woman said that she saw no difference between the teachings of the two religions. 'How is that?' said my friend. 'What makes you say there is no difference?' 'Well,' said the woman, 'you Christians make much of what you call "The Sermon on the Mount," but we have something just like it. In the last copy

of my Buddhist paper I read it.' When the paper was brought it was found that it contained something just like the Sermon on the Mount, for it was the Sermon on the Mount translated and represented as Buddhist Scripture." We cannot welcome deception, conscious or unconscious, nor false representation, and it is certainly true that this spread of the truth of Christianity among the non-Christian peoples, transforming their thought but not striking into the very central being and quickening the soul in God by a regeneration in Christ, makes our problem in some of its aspects much harder. Nevertheless, we will rejoice in all spread of truth among men, believing that it builds to the kingdom of Christ, and that half-truth, in spite of all, is better than whole error.

6. But Christianity must continue, and all the more as this transformation advances, to seek to win individual men away from their religions to Christianity. If by proselytising is meant winning men from all that is false and evil in the world's religions and relating them to the one universal religion, which is all truth and good, in other words, the effort to make Hindus and Mohammedans Christians, then that is just what we are trying to do. We are proselytising. And we do not see what else in all the world is worth doing. The business of every man is to find truth, to live it, and to get it found and lived by all the world. This is what we are Christians for. And this change in individuals must be a radical and living change. It is utterly inadequate to describe the invitation of foreign missions to the non-Christian peoples as an invitation to "philosophical adjustment." It is an appeal for regeneration. We do expect to see "the gradual conversion of heathenism by the adoption of Christian ideals instead of heathen ones," and this "to be followed by the gradual absorption of paganism into the Church."—(Lloyd, "Wheat Among the Tares," p. 36.) And doubtless the day would be hastened if there were perfect preachers of the perfect Gospel. Dr. Lloyd thinks so. "Japan does not believe Christianity," he says, "because of faulty presentation. The fault cannot lie with the Author of our Faith; it must lie with ourselves. . . . If the Japanese rejects Christianity, it is in

most cases because he has never had it properly presented to him." But is this all? Does it go to the very centre? Are the Japanese so different to-day from the Jews in our Lord's day, and the Roman world in St. Paul's? Or can it be that our Lord did not properly present the Gospel, and that St. Paul's presentation was faulty? No, something more is needed than philosophical adjustment on the part of the hearers and a less faulty presentation on the part of the preachers. Men must be born again. They must repent. They must find life in Christ. The old phrases enshrine the eternal truth. The missionary enterprise is busy producing new moral climates, transforming and enriching and fulfilling the ideals of the nations, but it is doing these primarily and permanently by making disciples of Jesus Christ, by finding men and women who will answer His call and forsake all that they have and follow Him.

7. Christianity should perceive and unswervingly hold to the truth of its own absolute uniqueness. "He that hath not the Son of God hath not Life." That is the fundamental law. We refuse to be led aside by any distinction between the historic Christ and the essential Christ. We believe in a loving God, Who is the Father of all His children in spite of their denials, and that His loving will is that none should perish but that all should come unto life, and in a grace that has sought and is seeking every human heart, and in a Lamb slain from the beginning as a propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. All this we believe, and our own duty in view of it is clear. But into distinctions between two Christs we cannot go. It leads us into regions where there is no foothold. The Christ whom we know, and Who has been life to us, is the Christ of history. "He that hath the Son hath life, and He that hath not the Son of God hath not life." This one law, which is law because it is fact, is what "distinguishes Christianity from all other religions. It places the religion of Christ," said Professor Drummond in "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," (p. 83 f) "upon a footing altogether unique. There is no analogy between the Christian religion and, say Buddhism, or the Mohammedan religion. There is no true sense

in which a man can say, He that hath Buddha hath life. Buddha has nothing to do with life. He may have something to do with morality. He may stimulate, impress, teach, guide, but there is no distinct new thing added to the souls of those who profess Buddhism. These religions may be developments of the natural and moral man. But Christianity professes to be more. It is the mental or moral man plus something else or some One else." Christianity is showing no kindness to the world if it forgets its own character, the mission of life with which it is charged. A toleration which betrayed the very life of humanity would be intolerable treason. Christianity must realise and hold immovably its unique character. As Mr. Griffith Jones says: "The offer of Christ to sinful men wherever they can be found is not the offer of an alternative religion to them in the sense in which Hinduism and Taoism and Confucianism are religions. It is the offer to men of the secret of life, of something that will enable them to realise their true selves, and become men in the true and full sense of the word. We do our Master little honour when we place Him among a group of teachers competing for the acceptance of men. He is not one of the many founders of religions. He is the Source and Fountain of all, in so far as they have caught a prophetic glimpse of His truth, and anticipated something of His spirit, and given a scattered hint here and there of His secret. He is the truth, the type, the saving grace of which they faintly and vaguely dreamed; the desire of all nations, the crown and essence of humanity; the Saviour of the world, Who by the loftiness of His teaching, the beauty of His character, the sufficiency of His atoning sacrifice, is able to save to the uttermost all who will come to Him and trust in Him." The men who in the non-Christian religions sought in vain for life, and then found it in Christ, warn us to be true to the trust which we hold for humanity. "I became Christian and openly professed my faith in Christ 54 years ago for this precious truth," of life by the unique atonement of Christ, writes one of the most venerable and respected Christian men of India, the Rev. Dr. K. C. Chatterjee of Hoshyarpur, "and it has been the solace of my life ever since. It is the differentiat-

ing line between Christianity and all non-Christian systems, and we must not keep it in the background, and, much less, give it up. All the educated and thinking men of this country are willing to give, and often do actually give the highest place to Christ as a religious teacher. Only last week the Principal of the Arya College at Lahore, in a public lecture delivered in this place, exhorted his hearers, numbering above 4,000, 'to follow Jesus Christ, the greatest religious teacher the world has produced in his self-denial and work of love for the poor.' The removing of the line reduces Christ to one out of many—the greatest one, it may be, but with it He is the only one Saviour of the world. Between Him and other teachers the difference is not of degree, but of kind. He is the only Saviour, and they are teachers."

8. While we may hope for something in the way of a richer understanding and a fuller interpretation of Christianity from the new experience of Christians of other races, we may exaggerate the prospect. And what we may hope for is rather from the racial qualities of these peoples than from their religions. It is to be stated clearly that we look for nothing from the non-Christian religions to be added to the Christianity of the New Testament. Every truth in these religions is already in Christianity, and it is there proportioned and balanced as it is not in any of the other religions. We have much to learn of our own religion. It reaches infinitely beyond our present comprehension of it. The thought and life of other peoples has much to teach us of the riches of our own faith; but not one single aspect of truth can be named which these other religions are able to contribute to the religion of the New Testament.

But it may be asked, is not the Oriental consciousness to enlarge and enrich our comparatively pinched and practical conceptions? But is there such a thing as an Oriental consciousness? A Western woman is the chief preacher of such a consciousness in India, and the whole conception of such a consciousness as a great force to be dealt with in philosophy and religion has been produced and nourished in the West. There is doubtless a rough utility in thus setting the East off against the West, but both East

and West are divided within themselves by differences of race and tradition as great as separate them from one another. The Chinese consciousness is nearer to Western materialism and the Hindu consciousness to Western idealism than the Chinese and Hindu consciousness are to each other. The phrase, the Oriental consciousness, serves a more or less useful purpose, but it does not define a source of new religious knowledge or promise a correction of Christianity.

Nevertheless we have much to learn from others. "The West has yet much to learn in the school of Vedanta, so ancient and so meditative," says one Christian writer. (The Rev. N. Macnicol, *Hibbert Journal,* October, 1908.) And Mr. Slater says: "The West has to learn from the East, and the East from the West. The questions raised by the Vedanta will have to pass into Christianity if the best minds of India are to embrace it; and the Church of the 'farther East' will doubtless contribute something to the thought of Christendom of the science of the soul, and of the omnipenetrativeness and immanence of Deity."—(Slater, "The Higher Hinduism," p. 291.) These are sober and true words. They speak of the inadequacy of our thought, not of the inadequacy of Christianity. But Max Müller goes far beyond these more careful statements: "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of them which well deserve the attention of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. If I were to ask myself from what literature one, here in Europe, may draw that corrective, in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, and, in fact, more truly a human life, not for this life only, but for a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India." But there are others, both those who have studied Indian religion and philosophy from afar, unprejudiced by the realities of the popular religion, and those who have loved India so well that they have lived and died for her, who have not found what her speculations could add to the truth of the Gospel, I do not say to the Western formulation of theology but to the essen-

tial truth of the Gospels. And even of the former, some doubt.

Take the Hindu race [says Dr. George A. Gordon]. They are spoken of by those who best know them as intellectually one of the most gifted people on the globe. I cannot help the feeling that this is a very great exaggeration. The Hindus have no science, and do not even know what the word means. They have achieved no fame in working out a theory of government, and less in the institution of one. Their gift lies in the direction of metaphysics, and this subject they have conceived, not as Plato or Aristotle did, nor as Kant and his great successors have done. Their strength has never been in orderly and valid thinking, even when turned upon the great centres of being. But they have a marvellous faculty and fertility of spiritual imagination, and their power of reflecting profound metaphysical truth through the luminous haze of intellectual vision is indeed amazing. Nevertheless, one feels that even here there is a certain cheapness about the product. It is as if there were an illimitable fog bank off our shores, rolling in under a blazing summer sun. It comes in transfigured masses; it is a wonder of beauty, but, after all, it is thin and cheap and unwholesome. One can hardly resist a feeling like this in witnessing the exercises of the Hindu mind. It is talk by the mile and the league, and, although pleasant to hear, it lacks the note of reality. It somehow fails of representative worth in respect to the character of the speaker, in respect to the experience of the average sincere man, and, above all, in respect to the order and grandeur of the universe.—(GORDON, "The Gospel for Humanity," p. 13.)

Something is to come into the temple of God from India, but only when her consciousness and her speculations are humbly laid at the foot of Christ's cross, and when she has begun to learn by life in Him.

Thus far our hopes of any original contribution in philosophy or theology or religion from the quickened consciousness of Asia or from the Christian Churches in Asia have been unfulfilled. All the work of modern scholars in Japan and India has been eclectic, a remodelling of old materials. And the Christians of these lands have simply been reliving the ever old and ever new problems of human life in all ages and in all lands.

Those who have set out to give us new theologies or new Christs have only rephrased the old truths or rearranged the old heresies. Mr. Mozumdar gave us an Oriental Christ, but he was merely a Unitarian Christ, less strong, less rich, less true, less commanding, less a Christ than the Saviour whom the Church had known for nineteen centuries. And Mozumdar's public statement, in which he retired from the leadership of the Bramo Samaj and withdrew into solitude for his last days, is the acknowledgment of the failure of one of the most promising efforts of the last generation to correct Christianity by the consciousness of India:

Age and sickness get the better of me in these surroundings, I cannot work as I would—contemplation is distracted, concentration disturbed, though I struggle ever so much. These solitudes are hospitable; these breadths, heights, and depths are always suggestive. I acquire more spirit with less struggle, hence I retire.

They talk and make me talk so much that, having respect for them all, I prefer to go away.

I can best control my speech, my daily ways, my dealings with the world, when I am lonely, and fall back upon myself. Therefore, I retire.

My thirst for the higher life is growing so unquenchable that I need the time and the grace to re-examine and reform and purify every part of my existence. The spirit of God promises me that grace if I am alone. So let me alone.

There is so much to learn, to trust, to realise, to do, that I must night and day draw nearer to my God. The society of men is full of vanity. So I retire. I will go back when I can serve men better.

The rich are so vain or selfish, the poor are so insolent or mean, that, having respect for both, I prefer to go away from them.

The learned think so highly of themselves, the ignorant are so full of hatred and uncharitableness, that, having good will for both, I prefer to hide myself from all.

The religious are so exclusive, the sceptical so self-sufficient, that it is best to be away from both.

Such a fatal liking I have for the company of every kind of men, so open to temptation at every point, so easily provoked,

so repeatedly impatient that I must school myself to retirement and forgetfulness of all things.

Where are the dead? Have not they too retired? I wish my acquaintance with the dead should grow, that my communion with them should be spontaneous, perpetual, unceasing. I will invoke them and wait for them in my hermitage.

What is life? Is it not a fleeting shadow, the graveyard of dead hopes, the battlefield of ghastly competitions, the playground of delusions, separations, cruel changes and disappointments? I have had enough of these. And now, with the kindliest love of all, must prepare and sanctify myself for the great Beyond, where there is solution for so many problems, and consolation for so many troubles.

The world is also bright, beautiful, and full of God; but those who are in it do not see that—I see it better from my retirement, so farewell for a while.

They have thought and said kind things to me so unstintedly that I could not help feeling flattered, though I knew they were undeserved; they have thought and said cruel and unworthy things of me so persistently that I could not help being discouraged. Now I must go away to make certain what I really am in the sight of my God. And furthermore, I must strenuously strive to mature myself in whatever good thing there is in me, and purify myself with God's help from every evil and the possibility of every evil. Does not this require much time and discipline?

Who expects from such pathetic consciousness of failure any improvement upon St. Paul?

What can the East add to Christ? we ask. What can the East show us that we do not know? Can it give us anything?

Yes, it has a great deal to give us. But it is not Christianity that needs its help. It is we. And it is only by Christianity that it can give us its help. And it is not in our thoughts of Christianity that we specially need its help. We do not primarily require a larger intellectual comprehension of the Gospel. Indeed, we cannot get it by mere speculation, by comparison of opinions, by new codifications of truth, or new efforts to state the life and will of God and the nature and end of our souls in words. We can only get it by more experience, more life, by the actual occupation of humanity by God. It is in

the experience of Christianity that help is needed. It is in our living it, in our getting the Gospel embodied in our life. It is thus that the other races are to help us. And it is the races that are to help us, not their religions, save as those religions have come to embody in any measure above their error the great racial qualities which are to be the contribution of these peoples to the Spirit of God for His use as the materials of the Kingdom of God, the incarnation of the Gospel in the life of mankind. The non-Christian peoples are far better than the evils of their religions. Even the sanctification of error and wrong in the non-Christian religions has not extirpated from these peoples the likeness of God, which will not be effaced, and that original capacity for Him, for the indwelling of His life, for the execution of His will of righteousness, which is to be their contribution to the universal Church.

It is from these races that the new goods for Christianity are to come. The line of thought in Bishop Montgomery's composite volume, "Mankind and the Church," was justly chosen,— "an attempt to estimate the contribution of great races to the fulness of the Church of God." To the extent to which their religions have really supported the strong national qualities of these peoples, which they are to bring to the enlargement of our interpretation of the Gospel by the enlargement of our experience of God in Christ, they have made a contribution, but to the extent that they have weakened them they have increased the measure of the encumbrance they have been on the life of the world, or will be if they obstruct the triumph of Christianity. But it is the character of the various races which Christianity wants, to redeem and use them, rather than the speculations of their religions for her reconstruction. And we will cherish the hope, though as yet it is only a hope, which Dr. Gibson sets forth in his "Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China," that through the qualities which the races are to bring into the Church, the Church will be enabled to appropriate more of that Gospel which is perfect and complete and needing only to be understood and accepted in its divine fulness.

A review of earlier Church history would show how the varying types of different races have contributed to the development of Christian theology. The Greek mind contributed to it its speculative liberality, its profound philosophical insight, its sense of the essential dignity of human nature. The Roman type of mental development contributed, on the other hand, the strong sense of law out of which has arisen the whole region of what is called forensic theology. It also imposed on Christian thought definiteness, and the sense of limits which prevented it from running wild in a too free speculation. In later times the subtlety, thoroughness, and clearness of the French intellectual type, when working at its best, impressed themselves through Calvin upon our Western theology. When time has allowed for their development, may we not expect the working of similar forces in the Churches which are growing up on our great mission fields? In India you have a mind naturally religious, highly speculative and metaphysical, and moving habitually under the influence of sudden heats of religious emotion. In China, on the contrary, you have a national temperament with little natural sympathy with the more subtle aspects of religious thought, but strongly inclined to what is ethical and practical, having a firm grasp of reality, and presenting a singular combination of solidity and plasticity. Where our theology is still one-sided and incomplete, may we not look for large contributions to it in days to come from the independent thought and life of Christian men in our mission fields; and may we not look forward to the attainment, as one of the ample rewards of our mission work, of the fuller and more rounded theology for which the Church has waited so long? So may come at last the healing of those divisions by which she has been torn and weakened throughout her chequered history.

When to Jewish fervour, Greek passion, Roman restraint, French acuteness, German depth, English breadth, Scottish intensity, and American alertness, are added Indian religious subtlety, with Chinese ethical sagacity—all baptised into the One Spirit—then we may reach at last the fuller theology, worthy of the world-wide hospitalities of the kingdom of heaven, and setting forth more nearly the very thoughts of God.—(GIBSON, *Op. cit.*, pp. 282-286.)

There are those, it must be said, who feel grave concern at the issues with which the modern world confronts us. It is evident, they say, that the non-Christian races are to exert a

more direct and powerful influence upon the Christian peoples, and they dread the result. What they have to give, they fear will be by no means wholly good, and they look not for an enrichment, but for an impoverishment of our best life from their contribution to it:

At this juncture [says Professor Reinsch] the East with its swarming hordes living a listless life from century to century; the West with its energetic, individualistic impulses, but without any consistent philosophy of civilisation, meet face to face. That this threatens to accentuate the reactionary forces, to strengthen autocracy and brute force, and to weaken everything that bases itself on reason, reflection, and individual right, is natural and evident. While some presaging spirits cherish the hope that Eastern thought will yield a harmonising principle to the life of the West, others abandon themselves to the fear that we are destined to be driven back into another period of darkness in which intelligence will slumber and brute force reign supreme.

The unfavourable influences that are to be expected from Oriental civilisation may be summarised briefly as follows: a pessimistic view of life; an undervaluing of individual rights and the power of individual initiative; a caste spirit that looks upon men as mere incomplete portions of a larger unity in which their existence is entirely swallowed up; the degradation of women, whom Western ideals have placed on an equal intellectual and moral footing with men; a lack of sympathy; the preponderance of theocracy; and absolutism. It is paradoxical that, with all its individualism, the West is, nevertheless, more sympathetic than the East. This sympathy is largely a result of the Christian religion; for before the growth of Christianity, the Roman world was dominated by the Stoic spirit, to which pity for the sufferings of fellow-beings was entirely foreign. Throughout the Orient man is singularly apathetic and untouched by the woes of his fellows. It may be said, indeed, by apologists of Eastern thought, that sympathy merely increases human suffering a thousandfold by making every individual carry the burdens of thousands of fellow-sufferers, and that it leads to a perpetuation of deformities and disease by protecting from extirpation the victims of these evils. Even so, it cannot be doubted that, when we come to consider the feelings and ideals which make our life endurable, the bond of sympathy with fellow-beings is to be counted among the first of these, and that the

introduction of Oriental apathy regarding the well-being of others would impoverish our civilisation. No one who has read the most recent European philosophical and critical literature can have failed to see how deeply this question is agitating the European mind.—(REINSCH, "World Politics," p. 243.)

It may be so. It surely will be so, unless the non-Christian races are redeemed by the Gospel and the power of the Gospel is allowed to purge their souls and give to their raw capacities the grace which is to be their contribution to the ultimate Christianisation of humanity. We discern anew the grounds on which the missionary enterprise rests. It is needed to enable the non-Christian peoples to make their contribution to Christianity.

And it is needed to enable Christianity to realise itself. So far from needing anything from the non-Christian religions, Christianity needs only one thing, that is, to give herself to the non-Christian peoples. There is wanting in her nothing that other systems can provide. There is wanting only the discovery and fulfilling of her own true character, which is possible only as she gives herself, not in the person of a few of her sons and daughters, but in all her being and utterances, to the supreme task of redeeming the world, nay, of bringing the world into the one perfect redemption which has been already wrought.

9. I have one concluding word to add. This view of the non-Christian religions, and of our attitude to them, is not the Gospel. It is not this message with which we are to go out to the world. This is what we have to say to ourselves when we examine the grounds of our enterprise and state its warrant to the Christian Church. But our message to the non-Christian religions is the one simple, positive yet infinite and inexhaustible message of Christ. It was after a venture in comparative religion at Athens, of which apparently little came, that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." It is with true courtesy and with frank and manly sympathy, and with a quiet but yearning love, that we go to meet the people of the non-Christian faiths to win them to the Saviour. We must put ourselves in their places. How would we wish to be approached? How would

the Gospel most effectively reach us if we were where they are, with their traditions and long inheritances and sacred memories and infinitely complicated network of human relationships, of intellectual ideas, and of actual responsibilities? We are asking no light thing of men. We must not approach them with denunciation of all that they regard most sacred, with ruthless contempt for the intricate intertwinings of the buried roots of tares and wheat. "We must not approach them as if they knew that they were themselves deficient, and that it was only pride and obstinacy that prevented them from listening to us."—(Archbishop Benson, quoted in Cust, "Missionary Methods," p. 264.) We do not approach them so. We approach them as the Bishop of Winchester, blind and far advanced in years, counselled Boniface to approach the souls to whom he was sent in Hesse, avoiding scrupulously all contemptuous and violent language, and trying above all things to show forth a spirit of moderation and of patience. It is thus we go to them. We love them. It is because we love them that we go to them. And some day love will win them. It will go out after them and will wait for them. It may be kept waiting for long years, but it will wait, and at last, in the triumph of Christ over the world's life and the divine perfecting of the world's life in Christ, it will see of its soul's travail and be content.

VI

THE RELATION OF MISSIONS TO THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH AND THE UNITY OF THE WORLD

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THE objects which the missionary enterprise seeks include and require the unity of the Christian Church. Let us consider first some of the conditions which indicate that such Christian unity on the foreign mission field is desirable and necessary.

(1) In the first place, the magnitude, the difficulties, and the urgency of the task which is before us demand the most fruitful and effective use of all our resources. We have to secure the evangelisation of a thousand million of our fellow-creatures; that is, to carry spiritual truth, the most difficult of all truth to carry truly, to two-thirds of the human race, and to seek to persuade men, not only to embrace this truth, but to place their characters under the transforming influence of the Lord of it. The task contemplates changing the opinions of men, not upon impersonal questions or matters of material self-interest, but upon religion, of which men are ever most reluctant to think exactly, or indeed really to think at all; and not the opinions of the open-minded only, but those even of the ignorant and prejudiced with whom religious traditions are, if possible, even more inveterate than with the enlightened. And the work involves not only the change of men's opinions, but also the revolution of their character, new principles of action displacing old and producing a new fruitage of deeds. And further, it is not to suffice to try to do this in individuals only. That is fundamental, but through that and beyond that, it is proposed to introduce the new principles into society and to drive out as far as may be all that is alien to the Kingdom of God and that will not be naturalised

in it. And this work is to be done, not in any one land, nor in any one language, nor in any one set of conditions. It must be done in all of the non-Christian lands, among all types of races, from the savage up to the peoples proud of civilisations long antedating ours, and made less accessible by their hate and contempt for us, and by the materialism of the commercial civilisation with which we have approached them. It must be done in many scores of languages, which have not only to be mastered, but in many cases to be expanded in order to express the truth which is to be conveyed. It has to be done under trying physical conditions of climate, which break down the health of strong men and women and reduce the term of available service, and what is even more serious, under conditions of moral climate which make the task hopeless except with God. It has to be done under all conditions of intellectual difficulty, demanding the truest and least confused presentation of the salvation that is in Christ. And furthermore, the work must be done by purely persuasive and moral agencies. The inducements which trade and political power wield are not available. Men must be won to the truth by motives to which only the truth in men can respond. It is not to be wondered at that men sometimes sneer at the missionary enterprise as visionary and impossible. It does look so, but as General Armstrong exclaimed once at a Conference at Lake Mohonk in behalf of the Indians, when some one objected to a certain righteous course of action on the ground that it was impossible: "What are Christians in the world for but to achieve the impossible by the help of God?" Without that help our task is certainly chimerical, and that help will only be available to us on its own conditions. We cannot expect it if in the face of such an undertaking we are so foolish as to waste our energies or not to measure our forces over against our work. And the moment we do make this measurement we realise that the supreme necessity is for union of all our efforts. The task is too great and too difficult and too urgent for any one section of Christians to hope to accomplish it alone. As the late Bishop of London wrote to Mr. W. H. T. Gairdner, when he enquired of him in 1898 as

to the propriety of participation by Anglican students in the work of the World's Student Movement: "No one religious body can undertake all the work that is to be done." Where no body of Christians can do the work alone, its aloofness from the rest with which it might do it is indefensible, unless indeed the work is not important or urgent. "I say again here," said the Bishop of Albany (U. S. A.) in a notable charge to his clergy, speaking of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, "if we were large enough and liberal enough as a Church to assume the responsibility for preaching the Gospel to every creature, there might be some excuse for our lack of recognition of those who, along lines that differ materially from our own, are nobly striving to carry the message of our Master to those by whom it has not been heard. But while we are so very unequal to the task in numbers or in liberality, it seems to me impossible to hold aloof in our sympathy from those who, with a profounder missionary zeal, are striving to do, according to their own convictions, the work which we are so largely neglecting." But even if one Christian body might hope to accomplish the work in many generations, were we to wait for it, we cannot wait, for these multitudes are passing away, and before they pass are entitled to know of the Lord who died for them and Who would be their Way and Light, and no one denomination of Christians has a right to claim the whole world as its preserve, the generations to wait until it can compass them all in its denominational name. The need is too urgent. There are, moreover, great forces astir throughout the world which will not wait for their permanent die and stamp. If we do not seize them in this generation and claim them for God, they will set and harden in permanently atheistic form. The magnitude of the missionary enterprise, the difficulties, and the urgency of the task forbid all waste and inefficiency and demand unity.

(2) In the second place, the elementary needs of the peoples we are to reach call primarily for what is fundamental and essential in Christianity. The great evils of the world are the elementary moral evils of impurity, inequality, and hopelessness.

The world does not know the character of God, and therefore it is unclean; the world does not know the love of God, and therefore men are not brothers; the world does not know the life of God, and therefore men despair alike of the present and the future. And these three things: the character of God, and the love of God, and the life of God, are not the things on which we disagree. They constitute the great fundamental and elementary things in Christianity, and it is for these and not for any of the points about which we are at variance that the world primarily calls. It wants Christ, and that is all. I know that this sounds much simpler than it is, but it is simple enough. He will take care of the complicated problems of Asia and Africa and South America. Far wiser men than we are have been wont in their furthest wanderings to come back simply to Him. "'Simply to Thy cross I cling' is enough for me," said Armstrong. And of "Rabbi" Duncan it was said that he could always find his way back to Christ as a sinful man, knowing nowhere else to go. "Thou, O Christ, art all I want," we sing, and the declaration is no weak surrender of the awful problem which the application of Christ to human need involves. It is the simple assertion that in the mazes of the labyrinth we are still holding fast to the clue. And so also of the world and its multitudes. "Thou, O Christ, art all they want." He is the world's one profound need, and the simplicity of that need invites unity.

(3) In the third place, the definiteness of the missionary aim provides for unity. That aim, as has been repeatedly pointed out, is the establishment of strong national Churches which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing, the naturalisation of Christianity in the national life of the different non-Christian peoples. Leaders of many different Churches and schools of opinion unite in their judgment as to the clear and definite aim of foreign missions:

"The aim of all missions in India," says Professor Christlieb of Bonn, "should be to create an independent Church in the future, neither Episcopalian, nor Presbyterian, nor Congregational, but the outcome of the national spirit. For, now that

people are coming over to Christianity in masses, the question as to the formation of a Protestant National Indian Church must become ever more and more a burning one. "It behooved England," said Archbishop Benson, "to insist on the principle on which she lived—that in the whole united body of the Catholic Church there must be national Churches, and that each must hold the Gospel with such forms as might interpret it in the best light to itself." Dr. Norman Macleod put the whole matter more vigorously still: "Is the grand army to remain broken up into separate divisions, each to recruit to its own standard, and to invite the Hindus to wear our respective uniforms, adopt our respective shibboleths, learn and repeat our respective war-cries, and even make caste marks of our wounds and scars, which to us are but the sad mementos of old battles? Or, to drop all metaphors, shall Christian converts in India be grouped and stereotyped into Episcopalian Churches, Presbyterian Churches, Lutheran Churches, Methodist Churches, Baptist Churches, or Independent Churches, and adopt as their respective creeds the Confession of Faith, the Thirty-nine Articles, or some other formula approved of by our forefathers, and the separating signs of some British or American sect? Whether any Church seriously entertains this design I know not, though I suspect it of some, and I feel assured that it will be realised in part as conversions increase by means of foreign missions, and be at last perpetuated, unless it is now carefully guarded against by every opportunity being watched and taken advantage of to propagate a different idea, and to rear up an independent and all-inclusive native Indian Church. By such a Church I mean one which shall be organised and governed by the natives themselves, as far as possible independently of us."

The Churches, which it is the aim of foreign missions to found that we may co-operate with them for the evangelisation of the world, ought, by their very nature, to be united Churches. They are not a set of imported denominations or of Western Churches orientalised. To the extent that we ever realise our aim, they will be indigenous native Churches. For we are not trying to spread over the world any particular view of Christian

truth or any particular form of Christian organisation. I belong to the Presbyterian Church, but I have not the slightest zeal in seeking to have the Presbyterian Church extended over the non-Christian world. I believe in one Church of Christ in each land, and that it is far more important that the Presbyterians of Japan should be related to the Methodists of Japan than that either of these bodies should possess any connection whatever with any ecclesiastical organisation in the United States.

It is sometimes alleged that even if we accept this view at home, the native Christians themselves will not endorse it, that they disavow our ideal and are conscientious denominationalists. There have been instances of this, but they have been exceptional. In many fields the great mass of native Christians do not know of these different denominations. They are Christians or believers in Jesus, and while they may know the difference between Protestants and Catholics, they are entirely capable of amalgamation in one common evangelical Christian Church. Native Christian leaders are sometimes opposed to such a movement because they prefer to be supported by foreign funds, and they realise that these are more certain of continuance in subsidised denominational native Churches. When all the native Christians unite, it means self-support and the wholesome exercise of control by the body of native lay Christians. Some native agents do not relish this, but the best men do. They have seen the right ideal and they are working for it. Missionaries should help them. The best are eagerly doing so. The Bishop of Lucknow spoke plain words on this point at the Bengal Church Missionary Conference in 1882:

> Yes, brethren, let us not deceive ourselves in this matter; the sin and shame of the disunion which exists among native Christians rest almost entirely with us European missionaries. It is we who are guilty; we do not conciliate our brethren, and have often carried ourselves stiffly and as though we had a monopoly of the grace of God; and the nonconformist missionaries have needlessly perpetuated their sectarianism and imposed it upon their converts in this heathen country, where often the

original cause of difference has no existence. God forgive us all, for we are verily guilty concerning our brethren. How should *they* know, how should *they* be able to stand out for union against those whom they regard as their spiritual fathers? No, it is *we* who are to blame, we with our pharisaism and our bigotry and our want of brotherly love. Let us not attempt to excuse or hide our fault, but, frankly acknowledging it to God and one another and our native brethren, try to make amends, and before it becomes too late, begin to strive sincerely and honestly to put away these unhappy divisions and build up the Church of Christ in godly union and concord.

I do not know the conditions that prevailed in India in 1882 and called forth these strong words. I believe that in every mission field to-day the great body of the missionaries and native Christians alike cherish the ideals which have been set forth here. If these national Churches come, we do not say they will not break apart again, but if they do, the shame of their division will rest upon themselves, and their denominations will spring out of the bitter realities of their own sins and not out of alien and imported traditions. Our own duty is clear, and the clarity and distinctness of that duty, the unity of our governing principle, show us not only how desirable and practicable, but also how necessary and indispensable unity is.

(4) In the fourth place, we are already agreed in the evangelical Churches of the West on the intellectual basis of common faith which is necessary for such unity abroad. We believe in one God and Father of us all, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, and in one Holy Spirit, and in one Bible, and in one faith, and in one salvation. It is true that to reach such a basis of agreement we have to go back beyond the origins of many of the contradictions which separate us. But men are now ready to do this. "The question of unity," says Bishop Fyson of the Church of England in Japan, "seems to me almost, if not quite, the most important of all for the Church at the present day; and I would go great lengths to attain it. The only hope of ultimate agreement amongst the different Christian orders is, as it seems to me, to get back to the most primitive time, not to the third century, or to the second, but to the New Testa-

ment. That is the only common basis on which we are likely to agree." And this is not the voice of a single Christian leader alone. The Anglican Bishops in India, in their encyclical letter in 1900, set forth the basis which they deemed sufficient for fellowship and co-operation, at least, in good works:

As Bishops of the Church we pray for visible unity, but we pray with no less earnestness for sympathy and charity. The presence of the many millions who know not Christ in India and Ceylon exercises in itself a harmonising influence upon Christians. But it appears to us that the path of Christian unity lies not so much in ignoring or disguising differences as in the wide and common ground of belief in our Lord's Divinity, in His Incarnation, in His passion, and in His ascension to glory. Those who bow before Him as the one Divine Friend and Redeemer of mankind, who acknowledge that His sacrifice upon Calvary is the one true "sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," will depart widely from His spirit if they make of minor historical questions, about which Christians may and do honestly dissent one from another, final barriers and obstacles to brotherly love and co-operation.

We therefore heartily invite our fellow-Christians of all denominations to join with us for Christ's sake in the fellowship of good works, and in the cultivation of a charitable and sympathetic spirit throughout the Christian world, and in united prayer for these sacred ends.

And more recently still the whole body of Protestant missionaries in China at the Centenary Conference agreed in declaring that they were already one in their common faith and witness to the Gospel of the grace of God.

Whereas [they declared] it is frequently asserted that Protestant missions present a divided front to those outside, and create confusion by a large variety of inconsistent teaching, and whereas the minds both of Christian and non-Christian Chinese are in danger of being thus misled into an exaggerated estimate of our differences, this Centenary Conference, representing all Protestant missions at present working in China, unanimously and cordially declares:

That this Conference unanimously holds the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the supreme standard of faith

and practice, and holds firmly the primitive apostolic faith. Further, while acknowledging the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as substantially expressing the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, the Conference does not adopt any Creed as a basis of Church unity, and leaves confessional questions for further consideration; yet, in view of our knowledge of each other's doctrinal symbols, history, work, and character, we gladly recognise ourselves as already one body in Christ, teaching one way of eternal life, and calling men into one holy fellowship; and as one in regard to the great body of doctrine of the Christian faith; one in our teaching as to the love of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in our testimony as to sin and salvation, and our homage to the Divine and Holy Redeemer of men; one in our call to the purity of the Christian life, and in our witness to the splendours of the Christian hope.

We frankly recognise that we differ as to methods of administration and Church government. But we unite in holding that these differences do not invalidate the assertion of our real unity in our common witness to the Gospel of the grace of God.

Here, surely, we have an adequate basis of intellectual agreement. What more do we require than "a real unity in our common witness to the Gospel"? We differ, perhaps, as to the symbols in which Christianity expresses itself, and as to the institutional forms in which it is embodied, but we are all agreed as to the spiritual principles which are expressed in these symbols and embodied in these institutions, and, surely, that agreement in these spiritual principles is the fundamental and essential thing, and even in a great united Church, when it comes, there will be room made for some disagreement as to our symbols and our institutional forms. We are agreed enough, I say, in our common intellectual convictions, regarding the fundamental elements of our Christian faith to make the union of the Church in the non-Christian world entirely practicable. We have one common Lord. In that we all agree, and no one doubts the other's love of Him. Believing this, surely no one can say less than the Bishop of Newcastle said at the Church of England Conference in Nottingham in 1897: "When men agree in love for a common Lord, and can thank Him for admission to His Kingdom on earth, and trust Him for the

time to come, it is certain that this community of faith will find expression in ways which scarcely need to be classified as though else it would cease to exist. If they do not love 'one Lord,' no unity of ecclesiastical organisation will ever bring them together. If they do love 'one Lord,' no differences of organisation can really keep them permanently apart. The man who feels strongly the truth of his own convictions is just the man who can afford to be tolerant in dealing with others, and the English Churchman who realises that about four-fifths of the results of foreign missions, outside those of the Church of Rome, are due to other Christian bodies than his own, will gladly recognise the fruits of the Spirit in the labours of others throughout the world, and without abating one iota of what he holds and teaches as true, will see the wisdom of the resolution passed by the Bishops at the recent Lambeth Conference: 'That in the foreign mission field of the Church's work, where signal spiritual blessings have attended the labour of Christian missionaries not connected with the Anglican communion, a special obligation has arisen to avoid, as far as possible without compromise of principle, whatever tends to prevent the due growth and manifestation of that "unity of the Spirit," which should ever mark the Church of Christ.'" And that due growth and manifestation, we are confident, will be something actual and discernible.

(5) In the fifth place, the Occidental character of our divisions makes it both unnecessary and inexpedient to export them to the mission field. Our denominational differences rest on historical grounds. This history has significance to us. It has none on the mission field. So far as our different Churches spring from different historical incidents in our Western life, they may justify themselves to us, but they cannot on these grounds justify themselves to the Chinese and Indians. Our differences as to Christian doctrine, moreover, which seem to warrant our separation, are artificial in Asia. It is not necessary there to prevent men from being both Calvinists and Arminians at the same time, as most of them are, as a matter of fact, here at home now. Indeed, the Methodists have been working all

these years with great success with a Calvinistic type of theology in China. One of them complained recently in a paper published by their press in Shanghai:

What distinctively Methodist literature does Methodism in China need at present? In answer, I would say one thing needed is a work on systematic theology. So far as I know, there is no treatise from the Methodist standpoint. What we have is tinctured with a diluted Calvinism, not rank, to be sure, but still retaining a mild flavour of that dead system.

Many of us would think that theology that combined Calvinism and Arminianism was a very desirable theology, and that a native Church could not be better supplied than with a theological teaching that recognised the truth in both of these systems. Some, however, are for separating the two and reproducing in Asia the theological differences of the West. In a later number of the little publication just referred to, another missionary writes:

Many times have I been pained to hear our preachers present Calvinism to their congregations, and, what is worse, to know that the books taught in our theological seminaries are tinctured with that dead system? Let the Methodists of China look about and at once select a man filled with the spirit of God and Methodism, and set him aside for the work of preparing clean Methodist theological works.

But what is the use of seeking to transport our divergent systems? Even among ourselves it is only a few theological specialists who are able to keep them divergent. The great mass of common Christians have already merged them, indeed, never had them separated, and the specialists even cannot keep them apart in practical work and life. The Arminian cannot pray except as a Calvinist, and the Calvinist cannot preach the Gospel except as an Arminian. The universal mind will not be responsible for the perpetuation of these divisions. The things that have kept us apart here do not root down to what is fundamental or universal or eternal or really transportable: they root

only into those things which are Occidental or temporary, and which we cannot transport and make genuinely native to the non-Christian lands or permanently retain among ourselves. This Occidental and transient character of our differences invites us to union abroad.

2. In the second place, to what degree and kind of unity do these considerations of which I have been speaking summon us? (1) In the first place, they call manifestly to a union that shall prevent all waste and friction; for all friction is disloyalty to Christ, and all waste is disloyalty to the world. All friction is disloyalty to Christ because it argues another principle superior to His principle of brotherly love and unselfishness, and all waste is disloyalty to the world because it denies to great masses of our fellow-men a Gospel that might be carried to them if there were no waste and duplication and overlapping. The considerations of which I have spoken demand of us a kind of union that will prevent all waste and friction on the foreign field. I do not mean to say that there is great waste and friction. There is some, but it is not great. But any is too much. The contention that the heathen are puzzled and confused by our multiplicity of sects, and that we are quarrelling abroad, is groundless. How richly we have already attained we shall presently see, and as to the confusion of the heathen, we have never known in Christendom such schism and contention as have marked the non-Christian religions, and they have never known anything like the unity of Christianity. But there is need and room for a practical co-operation of effort on the foreign field, which will make the work more powerful and fruitful. The considerations which we have reviewed show how necessary and practicable that co-operation is.

(2) For, in the second place, what these considerations demand is not merely an avoidance of collision and strife; it is the presence of a positive co-operation that bids us to say to one another not "Hands off," but "Hands together." They command us not to divide that we may march separately, but to draw near that we may march together. The great things which are to be attained in the world's evangelisation cannot be

done by companies of Christian men who agree to differ: they can only be done by great companies of Christian men who relate themselves for common and united action. Not only do these considerations demand that we should avoid negatively the things that impair the efficiency of our efforts, but they require also that we should provide positively the things that will make our efforts more powerful and more effective.

(3) In the third place, these considerations call not only for this external form of co-operation of which we have spoken. They call for the most living and real and spiritual unity. And we believe this, first of all, because this was the kind of unity for which our Lord prayed. We hear men say now and then that what we need on the mission field and that we need nothing more—is fraternal relations. Our Lord did not pray "that they all may be one as John and James are one, or as brothers are one," but, "that they all may be one as Thou and I are one." The kind of unity for which He prayed was not a unity of fraternity, not a unity of relationship of men externally bound to one another. The ideal that He held out was not the ideal of the unity of human brotherhood, but the ideal of the unity of the Godhead itself; and because we believe that that was the kind of unity for which our Lord made His prayer, we believe that that is the kind of unity which should be our ideal on the mission field. And we believe this not only because we believe that this was the kind of unity for which our Lord prayed, but also because any other kind of relationship among Christians misrepresents His Gospel. You cannot express one God in a split Church. The Gospel is a message of one God, of one Saviour, of one human family, and until we have got all this embodied in a great human symbol that speaks of a unity as real and complete as this, we have not got a symbol that represents correctly the great Gospel of the Saviour of all the world. And we believe in this corporate oneness in the third place, because until we have this kind of unity our Gospel never can put forth its full power. We must give Christ a body in which He can express Himself to the one humanity that He came to save. We must give the Holy Spirit a channel through which He can pour

Himself out over the whole world that He came to keep in the salvation and the purity of the Saviour.

And until we have a oneness like this our Gospel will go lame and halt and never can have the fulness of the divine power for the world's conviction which our Lord Himself said it would have only when at last His people had arrived at a unity perfected into one as He and His Father were one. "In common with very many of our brethren, both clerical and lay," said the Conference on Christian Unity which met in Edinburgh in May, 1900, "we have had the conviction brought home to our consciences that the lack of visible unity amongst Christian people is one of the chief hindrances by which all efforts to advance the Kingdom of our Lord are impeded." And this is to be understood in the deepest sense. "The faith that finally overcomes the world is a collective thing. . . . It is only the full and solidary faith of a living Church that can possess the secret and the command of those marvellous results which so far appear but sporadically and come and go like the wind. . . . When the Spirit dwells in a sanctified" and unified Church as He dwelt in the Holy Son of God in the unity of the life of the Godhead, then the Church will be able to do the wonders that He did, the power of the Highest will come upon her, and the world will believe that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour.—(P. T. Forsythe, *The Sunday School Times,* January 9, 1909; Art. "Miraculous Healing, Then and Now.")

The missionaries on the foreign field realise the vital significance of such unity in the fulfilment of their aim. "We have been mourning the slow progress of our Churches toward self-support," said one of them, the Rev. George Chapman, in the discussion on Church Unity at the Japan Missionary Conference in Tokyo, in 1900, "and many remedies are proposed. But here is the root evil, get rid of our divisions and there would soon be a self-supporting Church. It is because we are divided into so many small congregations that united effort for self-support is impossible. Once let them come together and it would go forward by leaps and bounds." And it is not self-support only that depends upon unity, it is the power of the

native Churches to become real national Churches, capable of moulding the fast-moving forces which are bearing the Eastern nations on to their altered destinies. "The tasks before us are tremendous and immediate," said the China missionaries in one of the public statements of their last conference. "Within half a generation it is possible for Christianity to be established as the most decisive force in Chinese affairs. To this task we propose to set ourselves with renewed devotion and a new sense of urgency. In this emergency we require the backing and co-operation of Christendom. Your progress, your fellowship, your efforts, united and forceful as never before, are a source of profound gratitude on our part. It is not less important that we, in the far-flung battle line, shall be one in spirit and aim, and that we shall co-operate in our common work. This has already led to union and combination in educational work, increasing economy of working force by division of labour and frequent consultations in our plans. At the present conference, Protestant missionaries, representing many countries and many branches of the Church of Christ, have come to a new realisation of our unity, and have given definite expression to a common desire and hope that in China we shall not perpetuate our Occidental distinctions; and we have expressed our definite purpose to plant one Church in which all disciples may have a common fellowship of joy and service. We have taken action which will soon result in organic union between Churches having a common policy. And we have planned for a federation of all Christians in the Empire. In these deliberations we have been conscious of divine guidance, without which all our plans must fail."—("Church Federation," Second Annual Report, p. 9 ff.)

3. These words of the China missionaries, summing up with grateful joy the achievements of the Spirit of God in unifying the missions in China, lead us on to enquire, thirdly, as to the measure in which the kind of unity demanded by the considerations we have reviewed has been attained on the foreign field. (1) In the first place, we have in some measure desisted from importing into the various foreign fields our denominational

titles and proprietary claims. Happily, there are some of them that cannot be translated. We do not regret that the Chinese language will not lend itself to the perpetuation of many of our names. You cannot translate the word Presbyterian or the word Methodist or the words Protestant Episcopal into a great many of the heathen languages; the languages have no such terms. You can transliterate them and then teach the heathen what the names mean, but they have no words that correspond to those and can serve as translations for them. Happily, even in the lands where such terms exist, the missionaries have often been wise enough to sink them into the background. It was agreed at the outset in the Philippines, for example, that the evangelical Churches should bear one common Christian name. If anybody wanted to throw in a little parenthesis at the end, perpetuating the Western denominational name, he could do so, but the outstanding conspicuous name was one. The same agreement, I believe, has been reached in Korea, and in many other lands from the very beginning our Western denominational titles were not known. And while here and there a particular missionary institution may bear some proprietary title, yet for the most part it is known as the mission hospital, or the mission school, or the mission press, and no particular name is tied to it to create distinctions in the minds of those who may know of it. First of all, then, we have made a long step in advance in leaving behind us the names. Abandon the names, and the ideas that the old names embodied will sooner or later fade away.

(2) In the second place, the principle of territorial divisions has been measurably accepted. Alexander Duff set forth his large-minded views on the subject, views which some missionary organisations have always shared, at the Union Missionary Convention held in New York City on the occasion of Duff's visit to America in 1854. Speaking of the assembling of missionaries in centres when great areas were still unoccupied, he said:

Now why remain thus crowded together, while whole regions are left entirely destitute? Why not rather disperse? Yes, but one will answer, "My flock belongs to such a sect, and yours

to another," and each will insist on maintaining a separate service, as if he must go to Heaven only in his own way. I do hope and trust that the day is coming when this divine spirit—the true catholic spirit—the all-embracing spirit of Christ—shall rise up in the midst of us—when evangelical Episcopalians, or Presbyterians, or Baptists, or Congregationalists, or Methodists, will say to each other: "For my part, if the Gospel is preached, I do not care whether it be conveyed through an Episcopalian tube, or a Presbyterian tube, or a Congregational tube, or any other." What a blessed spectacle would it be to see true preachers of the Gospel standing up together and saying to each other: "There is room for us all. If you remain here, then I shall go hence, or I will remain and let you go. There is space enough and work enough for all; let us not be coming into collision and apparent contention. . . ." The foreign missionary field is of such vast extent that there is room for all, without encroaching on each other's labours; and when we find any region of the heathen field preoccupied, we should go elsewhere in search of labour, as there is plenty of vacant territory. If, for a moment, I could wield the wand of despotic power for a good purpose, I would go to the heathen field, and there chalk out a separate district for every evangelical denomination. I would say to the Baptist, do you go there; to the Episcopalian, take this field; to the Presbyterian, labour in that district; go and convert them, and then baptise them all in whatever way you deem best.

Among the resolutions adopted at this Convention, embodying the recommendations of Dr. Duff, was one approving of this principle of territorial division:

Resolved, That considering the vast extent of the yet unevangelised world of heathenism, and the limited means of evangelisation at the disposal of the existing evangelical Churches or Societies, it would be very desirable that, with the exception of great centres, such as the capitals of powerful kingdoms, an efficient preoccupancy of any particular portion of the heathen field by any evangelical Church or Society, should be respected by others and left in their undisturbed possession.

If all the foreign missionaries on the field in 1900 had been distributed evenly among the peoples, there would have been, counting all men and women, one to each 60,000. There was

one ordained man to each 200,000. There is no warrant in such facts for overlapping and duplication. There are some bodies, however, which are unable as yet in conscience to accept the principles involved in permanent territorial divisions. The Anglican Bishops in India in their conference in 1900 resolved:

(a) In view of difficulties which have arisen from territorial agreements made between different missionary bodies, the Synod holds that all members of the Church of England, whether European or Indian, whatever they may be, have a right to the ministrations of the Church to which they belong, and that it is the duty of all Christian congregations to be centres of missionary activity.

(b) That, therefore, while commending the spirit of the policy in accordance with which the missions of different Christian bodies have endeavoured to avoid coming into collision with one another, the Synod deprecates any such territorial agreements in the future.

Some other bodies have felt constrained to take a similar position. Such convictions are held with open-mindedness, however, and are acted upon with reluctance, and those who hold them, as well as those who hold with Alexander Duff, wait for the larger time when they will be not abandoned but transcended, swallowed up in the comprehending Church; and meanwhile it can be said that the essential principle of territorial responsibility has been generally accepted by all missionary bodies save one, of which I shall speak presently.

(3) In the third place, the different Christian bodies in the foreign field have come, in the main, to recognise the ordinances and the acts of discipline of other Christian organisations, so that if in any one territory men are baptised, they are baptised for the territory of other Churches also, and if in any one territory acts of discipline lie upon agents of the native Church, the validity of those acts is acknowledged in other Christian organisations whether adjacent or far away.

(4) In the fourth place, we have reached on the mission field an advanced union in the spirit of prayer. Our Week of Prayer sprang from the foreign field. It was in its inception a great

appeal in prayer for the pouring out of God's spirit upon the unevangelised world. The united prayer movements from that day have usually been related in one way or another to the foreign mission field. Appeal after appeal has gone out within the last ten years on the mission field to missionaries of every name to unite themselves in common supplication. It is doubtful whether there is any one object in the world for which as large a volume of prayer is rising now all over the nations as for this one thing, the unity of Christendom in its representation of Christ to the non-Christian World. A noble illustration of this unity in prayer, typical of many, was the call sent out in 1901 by Bishop Foss and Bishop Awdry of the Anglican Church in Japan, which they prefaced by a reference to the conference of "leading members of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches in Scotland," in 1900, "to consider what could be done in view of the sin, loss, and wretchedness of the unhappy divisions of the one Church." This was their outline of subjects:

Penitence for any wilfulness, prejudice, worldliness, or evil temper in ourselves or our predecessors which may have helped to bring about a condition of Christendom so different from that for which our Lord prayed.

Prayer for such change and enlightenment of our own hearts as may help toward the undoing of this great evil—for the graces of wisdom, humility, sincerity, unworldliness, self-control, and open mind, reverence for others who sincerely disagree with us, complete subordination of our self-will to the will of God, a firm hold on truth, a spiritual mind—in short, the mind which was in Christ Jesus.

Prayer for the removal of obstacles—in the character of professing Christians, in heredity and other prejudice, in narrowness of views, in special shibboleths, in unworthy rivalries, in exaggerated attachment to non-essentials.

Prayer for a fuller outpouring of the Holy Spirit in His various powers, and for a more ready recognition of the work of the Spirit in others in whom the "fruits of the Spirit" are apparent.

Thanksgiving for the growing sense of sin in regard to our divisions, and of longing for unity; and for the better hope which this gives of the world being won to believe in the mission of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

One may see in this gathering volume of prayer a ground of hope for the removal of the most massive obstacle in the way of the union of Christendom, I mean the errant conscientiousness of Christian people. It has been the case from the beginning that the greatest evils have succeeded in rooting themselves in the consciences of men. "The day will come," our Lord told His disciples, "when those who kill you will think that they do service unto God." It was that very conviction that would make them so merciless and implacable. It has ever been so. Men transfer to their own fallible consciences the absolute authority of the divine standard which they have misread. We hide behind what we call our conscientiousness of principle as though that were an adequate reason for delaying the day of the unity of the Church. A principle is not necessarily sound because it is conscientious. It is dangerous, but not necessarily sound. The very thing that we stand most in need of to-day is such a searching of the eyes of God upon our inner life as will reveal to us the moral colour blindness, the obliquity of vision, the distortion of judgment, and the misconception of His spirit in our own hearts, which stand most in the way of the unity of the body in the life of our Lord. And we shall never have that exposure, that revelation of our own misguided conscientiousness until we come in prayer, in great humility and self-distrust, to the fear that where we think we stand we may have fallen worst, in His sight whose eyes search us and discern the truth.

(5) In the fifth place, both at home and on many mission fields, central bodies, more or less representative, have been established for the prosecution of co-operative work or for the nourishment of fraternity or for the adjustment of difficulties. In America for nearly twenty years the officers and members of the foreign mission organisations have been meeting annually for conference, and have now established in addition a central Committee of Reference and Counsel to act in matters of common interest, and to which any question of divergent judgment may be referred. The Conference of Missionaries in India, held at Madras in 1900, voted to set up, with the con-

sent of the home boards, a central Court of Arbitration and Appeal with seven provincial courts, and appointed representatives of forty different missionary societies on the committee to organise the court. It proposed the scheme in the hope, as it said, that it would "reduce to a minimum the evils of rivalry and competition, guard against the sin of wasting our Lord's money, give increased efficiency to existing agencies, spread the Gospel more swiftly into the regions beyond, and demonstrate before the world the essential oneness of Protestant Christianity." Twenty-five of the societies concurred at once, approved of the plan, and the courts have now been constituted, with the duty not only of deciding upon questions referred to them, but also of securing information regarding unoccupied fields and of suggesting what may be done to provide for them. At the beginning of the work in the Philippine Islands, a division of territory was arranged, and "The Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands" was organised, whose object was stated to be "to unite all the evangelical forces in the Philippine Islands for the purpose of securing comity and effectiveness in their missionary operations." The Tokyo Conference of Missionaries in Japan in 1900 created "The Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions in Japan," with the function of uniting the missions in co-operative efforts and "with a view," as its constitution stated, "to the prevention of misunderstandings and the promotion of harmony of spirit and uniformity of method." A year before, the missionary agencies working in Western China, including American Methodists and Baptists, Canadian Methodists, English Congregationalists, Anglicans, Friends, and the China Inland Mission had set up an Advisory Board of Reference and Co-operation, and approved of general principles of policy, including a division of the field, with the object of promoting "such a spirit of harmony and co-operation as shall tend to the speedier and more complete occupation of the whole wide field by the messengers of the Gospel," and none denied this title to any of the others. I will speak of but one other such organisation. Mr. Findlay described it some years ago in an address

to the National Council of Free Churches at Cardiff in 1901:

The trend towards co-operation which these great combined enterprises, and many smaller ones, have for years exhibited and encouraged in South India, and which also has been fostered in local councils and conferences, issued four years ago in the formation of a South Indian Missionary Association, which now embraces more than two-thirds of the whole Protestant missionary force of South India. The objects of this Association are parallel to those of your National Council, though its constituency is much wider. The sub-committee which drafted its constitution consisted of an American Congregationalist, an English High Churchman, and an English Methodist. Its membership includes State Churchmen and Free Churchmen, Lutherans of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and America; Scotch and American Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Plymouth Brethren, all united to practise fraternal intercourse, to take common counsel and to undertake common action. This Association arranges conferences, focuses missionary opinion, and expresses it, on occasion, to the Government and the public, and seeks to organise and utilise inter-mission co-operation in every possible way. As specimens of its activity may be mentioned a directory of institutions available for the common service, a board of vernacular examinations for missionaries, and a representative committee, which is preparing a common hymn-book for the whole Tamil Church. Missionaries of twenty-four out of the twenty-five Protestant Societies at work in South India are found in this Association; and it may be doubted whether there has ever before been witnessed the organised association for active service of Christian workers of so many varieties of nationality, thought, and ecclesiastical system.

And this co-operation has not been left to such general committees and conferences. It has expressed itself in organised and continuous work. In China, the medical missionaries of all Churches have formed a medical association, which pursues investigations, issues a journal, and is publishing medical textbooks. The educational missionaries likewise have established an educational association with like purposes, and holding a triennial meeting for common conference. Common hymn-books are in use in Brazil, Japan, South India, and Spánish-speaking

lands. And I can count twenty different institutions, three of them theological schools, where different denominations, representing different polities and creeds, have united themselves to support and conduct such institutions as union organisations.

(6) In the sixth place, this union among missionaries and their missions has issued in some fields, and notably in China, the greatest of all, in a national federation with a national council and provincial councils, with provision for regular meetings, and the work of this federation is to be "(a) To encourage everything that will demonstrate the existing essential unity of Christians. To watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different bodies of Christians in China; and as opportunity offers, to initiate and arrange for representative meetings for the furtherance of the ideal of one Christian Church for China. (b) To devise and recommend plans whereby the whole field can be worked most efficiently, and with the greatest economy in men and time and money. (c) To promote union in educational work. (d) The encouragement of the consideration of all questions as to how the various phases of Christian work can be carried on most efficiently, *e.g.,* translation and literary work, social work, medical work, evangelistic work, etc. (e) And in general, to endeavour to secure harmonious, co-operant, and more effective work throughout the whole Empire."

(7) But the ideal of foreign missions is not realised by a federation of separate agencies. It contemplates a united Church, not a compact of separate units, but one corporate and manifested life. The whole body of missionaries in Japan in the Conference in 1900, set forth this ideal: "This Conference of Missionaries, assembled in the City of Tokyo, proclaims its belief that all those who are one with Christ by faith are one body; and it calls upon all those who love the Lord Jesus and His Church in sincerity and truth, to pray and to labour for the full realisation of such a corporate oneness as the Master Himself prayed for on that night in which He was betrayed."

And they had in mind in this, their representatives have told us, not simply a strengthening of the bonds "that bind together

individual believers; but a corporate oneness, a oneness of the Churches as Churches that shall be manifest to all the world."

That such a unity [they said] is according to the mind of Christ needs no other proof than His own prayer in the upper room; and His own reason therein given is one that appeals with constraining persuasiveness to all who are in sympathy with Him in His longing that the world may believe. This has always been true; but to-day the old truth is proclaiming itself with peculiar insistence. The divisions of Christendom are seen with a new clearness to be a stone of stumbling; and many Christian lips are repeating the prayer of the Master as it has not been repeated for centuries. If there are any whom this concerns, it concerns those who have come to this land for the evangelisation of the nation,—"that it may know that Thou didst send Me." For it may be that the pathway to the consummation of that purpose is to be found in obedience to the words, that they may all be one that the world may believe.

The difficulties in the way of corporate oneness, in whichever form it is contemplated, are manifold. There are old wounds still rankling. There are prejudices that have transformed themselves into principles. The all but resistless forces of heredity and environment are arrayed in opposition. Pride and fear and doubt and distrust are all clamant. There are differences of education, of sentiment, of conviction, that insist upon recognition and consideration. The yoke must needs be worn of a meek and lowly spirit. But with God all things are possible. This is the thought of the letter; it is a call to united prayer. Hand in hand with prayer will go effort; and by taking thought, by earnest endeavour, by patience, by charity, by courage, by a closer fellowship with Christ, stepping stones will be found; but the great hope is in prayer by many for this very thing. In Thy light shall we see light.

The same noble ideal and longing have filled the minds and hearts of the missionaries in China. In the Centenary Conference they declared:

That in planting the Church of Christ on Chinese soil, we desire only to plant one Church under the sole control of the Lord Jesus Christ, governed by the Word of the Living God, and led by His guiding Spirit. While freely communicating to this Church the knowledge of Truth, and the rich historical experience

to which older Churches have attained, we fully recognise the liberty in Christ of the Churches in China planted by means of the Missions and Churches which we represent, in so far as these Churches are, by maturity of Christian character and experience, fitted to exercise it; and we desire to commit them in faith and hope to the continued safe-keeping of their Lord, when the time shall arrive, which we eagerly anticipate, when they shall pass beyond our guidance and control.

That in this view we cordially undertake to submit very respectfully to the home Churches which have sent us to China, the following recommendations:

(a) That they should sanction the recognition by their missionaries of the right of the Churches in China planted by them to organise themselves in accordance with their own views of truth and duty, suitable arrangements being made for the due representation of the missionaries on their governing bodies until these Churches shall be in a position to assume the full responsibilities of self-support and self-government.

(b) That they should abstain from claiming any permanent right of spiritual or administrative control over these Churches.

No general conference of missionaries in India has as yet embraced and uttered this ideal of one national Church, but the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India, itself a union of all the Presbyterian bodies but one, appointed at its meeting in 1907 a committee of twenty Indians and two missionaries to enter into correspondence with other missionaries and Churches with a view to a larger than a mere Presbyterian union, and it prefaced its resolutions with a recognition of "the advantages that would accrue to the cause of Christ in India by a realisation of Christ's prayer that all may be one," and by the declarations that "our aim is to secure a united indigenous Church of Indian Christians, rather than one of foreign missionaries with its peculiarly Western characteristics," and "that the Indian brethren, as far as possible, should be responsible for its development, that the future Church may grow in harmony with Oriental rather than Occidental ideas."

The great organic unifications which these utterances from the three greatest mission lands propose have already begun.

The elimination of denominational lines is now taking place. In at least nine cases they have been already eliminated. There have been three great eliminations in Japan. The Episcopal Churches of Great Britain and America are now one in Japan. All Presbyterian and Reformed bodies have been one in Japan for twenty-five years. All the Methodist bodies were made organically one in Japan a year or two ago. There is scarcely a mission field where there have not been instances of this organic melting together of different denominations. In every country where the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches of America are working, outside of the United States, they are working as one organic Church. In the Christian land of America they are two. In every heathen land they are one. In India, three or four years ago all but one of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches and the Calvinistic Methodists came together in one Church of Christ for India, and only this last year the southern section of that Church separated from the rest with good-will and approval, in order to unite with the English and American Congregationalists of South India and make a larger union numerically, a larger union in the inclusion of different types of denominations, although for a little while it made a smaller union geographically. But it was done as a step to the larger union yet to be. Organic unity is not a mere missionary theory. It is in some measure already an accomplished fact.

The foreign missionary movement in these attainments in Christian unity is exerting a powerful influence upon the Church at home.

(1) It is showing the Church at home the possibility of union, not only of co-operation in work or of federation of separate Christian bodies, but of actual union. There are not wanting those both at home and on the foreign field who believe that our divisions are to be perpetual. An editorial in the *Baptist Missionary Review* of India, for April, 1907, maintains this view: "We do not believe," it says, "that there will ever be any such thing as 'The Church of India.' History is not going to be reversed in India. There have been, are now, and

always will be, denominations." But the same article was advocating an unprecedented union of Baptists. If it is possible and right for Baptists to surrender their individualism and independency in favour of denominational union, may it not be possible and right for all Christians to act on the same comprehending principle and become one with a unity which will comprehend and preserve their freedom? Our denominations did not always exist. What right have we to assume that the sectarian phenomena of the last three or four centuries are to be the permanent characteristics of Christendom, and are of superior validity to the order of the New Testament, and that any hope of rising above them into the unity for which our Lord dared to pray, is vain? The attainments already made in union on the foreign mission field should teach us wisdom. We are uniting there. What we can do there, we can do here.

(2) The missionary movement is teaching us also the duty of union. The missionaries have realised that they ought to be one. For similar reasons and for additional reasons we ought to be one at home, and we ought to be one for the sake of the effect of such unity at home on the growth of unity abroad. It is from home that unity should pass out over the world as one of the marks of the Church. In the discussion of Christian union at the Tokyo Conference one of the missionaries asked to whom the proposed resolution of the Conference was addressed. "If to the Japanese Churches," said he, "they will say to us, 'Why are you not united among yourselves? It is your divisions that keep us separated.'" Happily, our divisions at home have not held the missionaries apart, although there are those among them who do not feel free to participate in the great uniting movements of the time because their Churches at home still hold aloof. "They must take the step before we can," they say. History is developing the contrary course, but it is doing so without relieving the home Churches of their duty to participate in a movement essential to the fulfilment of the task of Christianity in the world, to bring the Gospel home to each man and each nation, and to unify mankind.

(3) And the foreign mission movement is not only showing the Church the possibility and duty of union, it is also revealing to it the method. (a) It has shown us the uniting power of a great work. The immensity of the common task, the essential oneness of aim of all engaged in that task press the workers together in spite of their unacquaintance and their dissonant traditions. When men are not united in their work, they can easily remain apart, exalting the secondary things into fundamental principles, but when they are seeking the evangelisation of a world, the primary things assert their dominance, and men discover that they are agreed, and their divisions are at once as good as dead because they are forgotten. Dr. Swift, the great spirit who laid the foundation of the foreign missionary organisation of the American Presbyterian Church, understood this principle and expressed it in one of the first reports of the Board, referring to the temporary abandonment by the Church in 1826 of her corporate responsibility as a missionary agency, and to the later separation of the Church into New and Old Schools: "Had the commotions which now agitate the Church," said he, "found its ministry and its Churches bound together by the hallowed ties of one harmonious and life-inspiring effort to evangelise the world, those waves whose rockings now threaten her destruction would scarcely have left the trace of their existence. . . . The days of division and inaction cannot last forever. The Spirit of God will return in glory and in power to the Churches, and the spirit of love and concord to the Saints." Common aims and honest effort to realise those aims have made us one abroad. They can make us one at home. More than that, they require unity of us. As Dr. Henderson said in his final address as Moderator of the United Free Church Assembly in 1909: "Fathers and brethren, may I so far allude to the great subject of Church Union as to say that nothing will so effectively and so truly prepare for it as such development of our spiritual life by active service. If it is to come as a blessing—which God grant it may speedily—it will be as a union of those who labour for it from a supreme desire for fuller and freer service; from a pressing need of developing

a free and fruitful life in direct obedience to the will of Christ. Hindrances which thwart such spiritual aspirations will become intolerable, and their removal will be demanded at all costs. And union will come, not by mere good-will wishing for it, or adroit scheming to bring it about, but when an awakened sense of the urgency of spiritual service thrusts out of its way all that opposes itself to the doing of the will of Christ."

(b) It has shown us the power of fellowship in spite of difference of opinion to dissolve the difference by purifying it of the error on each side, which creates it, and to cleanse men's hearts of the pride and vanity which alone enable them to stand aloof from their brothers. I cannot illustrate better the spirit which the foreign mission movement would teach us all than by the words of one of the most trusted missionary leaders of our day, the Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in the Philippine Islands, Dr. Brent, in his charge of June 26, 1907. He has asked where the true Church is to be found, and then he answers:

"It partly is and wholly hopes to be." One group of men says her hall-mark is submission to Peter's chair; another, loyalty to the Bible; another, adherence to the Vincentian motto, or perhaps to two-thirds of it; another, acceptance of the belief and practice of the first six centuries; another, the principles of the Reformation, and so on, each group reaching its decision according to its training, tastes, interpretation of history, or prejudice. If, as Father Tyrrell suggests, any one Church or school of thought within a Church could "point triumphantly to the Christian ἦθος of that Church, to the religious spirit developed by her system as by no other," external marks and claims would merit higher respect than is the case. Neither the Roman, the Greek, any of the Protestant Churches with which I am familiar, nor our own exhibits a superior "Christian ἦθος." Each has its own distinctive type of righteousness and its individual disposition. But the same degree of devotion to Jesus Christ, of hunger and thirst after righteousness, of brotherliness, is found somewhere in each and all of the Churches alike, though in no one exclusively or pre-eminently. Naturally, we ally ourselves with that Church which presents the type most congenial to us. Whatever historic or theoretic necessities constitute the qualifications for Catholic recognition, no body that

manifestly and progressively struggles to put on the mind of Christ, and whose adherents bear those clear tokens of God's Spirit that cannot be simulated—self-sacrifice to the death for Christ's sake, triumph over sin, world-wide love—can be read out of the Church of the living God. To say that Protestant Churches in that they have abandoned a certain historic order are not Catholic according to a fixed definition may be true, but it is idle folly to think or speak or act as though they were not of the Church of the living God Who, although He designed a visible unity, has proved to those who are not too blind to see, that He can and does use the broken order which man has chosen in its place. As well might the gardener who prophesies that a certain plant will not live if reared in unwonted conditions deny that it has true life when experience proves that its vitality is full and its beauty unimpaired. *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.*

The logic of the situation requires us to look with greater fairness on the things of our brethren, and to put off the spirit of aloofness which Christ exhibited only in the presence of deliberate wickedness and hardness of heart. The doctrine of separatism cannot but be hateful to God. Out of the very stones will He raise up children to Abraham, as history declares, if Abraham's lineal descendants lapse into Pharisaism, pointing to phylacteries inscribed with the pride of aristocratic descent as their sufficient credentials. Our first duty all around is to cease theological and ecclesiastical backbiting and to be loyal to one another in secret—not to try to win Christians from the allegiance that binds them by sneering at or decrying systems of teaching that we do not sympathise with mainly because we have never been at pains to understand them. It is a poor business tearing down other people's walls to build up our own. On the other hand, it is a great happiness to repair the breach in a neighbour's fabric; that is to say, to help the member of another Church to lay hold of his privileges with renewed earnestness and reality. I have had many a surprise of late since I have faced vexed questions, with the determination to do full justice to the point of view opposed to mine. There are not a few things that are looked upon as mutually exclusive which, according to my experience, best fulfil their vocation when they are made to be yoke-fellows.

The cultivation of the Catholic as opposed to the sectarian spirit is our greatest work at present. I am not opposing frank, open controversy, feeble and unwilling controversialist though I am. Controversy conducted in good temper and in search of

the truth is valuable. I am simply pleading for the putting on of the mind of Christ that we may look on the things of others interestedly and fairly. We can best prepare for it by identifying ourselves, when we pray, with those who are separated from us by chance rather than by choice. My hope is that the development of this temper will lead us by degrees to natural fellowship, culminating first in federal, and then, as "state rights" gradually fade, into organic union. Christianity is still very young, the youngest but one of all great religions, and I am looking centuries ahead of to-day.

But we must labour as well as hope. If our Communion is to justify its boast of holding a strategic position and its claim to leadership, we must shed, more than we have yet seen fit to do, our reserve, and play the part of foremost companion. Consciousness of the possession of large privilege should drive us into the performance of service commensurate with our claims. Truth is not such a delicate thing as to be susceptible to infection from close contact with conscientious error or ignorance that has never had a fair chance to become enlightened. It does not sit passively on a throne in heaven waiting for earth to seek it, or at best stretch down a timid hand from above. Christ Jesus, the Way and the Truth and the Life, *being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross.* He consorted with notorious sinners. *Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf.* He lived the life of a Jew, obeying its ordinances, sharing in its crude worship—Oh, how crude, in many respects, how repulsive, it was! He could have won in no other way. Nor can we. Even if we were more sure than the surest of us can be of our denominational contentions, we could not make them a good ground for separatism. Indeed, the more certain we are of our position, the more readily can we afford to occupy every inch of common standing ground in sight. This is not lapsing into Protestantism, but rising to the full stature of Catholicity. If we have the truth, it will abide secure and win the day; if not, happy shall we be to lose that which appears to be what it is not.

But I do not believe that all is done when, after poring over our books, we come together and find an intellectual basis of agreement in Melbourne or Shanghai. Actual sharing with one another of our good things as far as conscience permits will do more than anything else to advance God's truth and unite us

according to His purpose. It is not merely that others are lacking in privileges possessed by us which we can lay at their disposal, but also that they have that which we have not and wherewith they can enrich us.—(*The Churchman,* February 29, 1908.)

The missionary motive embodies this ideal of trustful fellowship, of confidence without suspicion, of brotherly service without selfish ends. It is the family spirit, and when that is with us the family name is near.

(c) It is showing that the supreme method of dealing with differences is not adaptation or absorption, but transcendence. We do not stay on the level of our disagreements and seek by modification, by surrender, or supplement to fit them together. We simply rise to a higher level, into a unity which comprehends in its completeness all our half-lights and fragments. Our theologies are all to be reconciled at last, not by a restatement which will balance them afresh and establish a universal compromise and equipoise. They are to be reconciled in God. The living God will unify them and supplant them. And so with all our disagreements as Christians. We shall not need to compose them. As we move upward into our true air each man will be the most eager of all to lay aside his error, and in the larger knowledge and the larger love we shall find our lost unity in our freshly discovered God. It is no enmity to our past to believe that it did not exhaust God. There is no disloyalty to the past in believing that God means the future to be better than it. Unless the past has made ready for a better future, the past was a bad past. Only those things are good that make ready for better things to come after them, and those men are disloyal to the past, not who believe that it made preparation for greater things, but who believe that all the great things are in a golden age gone by. The worst disloyalty to the past is to mistake it for the future. Very great and glorious the past has been, but the past will have failed to teach its lesson to us, the past will have failed to fulfil its mission in the will of God if it binds men forever in the chains of its institutional forms, if it has not made them ready for larger and completer things and led them on to such a unity as Christ

Himself, we must believe, longed for while He was here, and waits for now where He is gone.

(d) And fourthly, the missionary movement is guiding us toward union at home by the principle of nationalism. Its ideal on the mission field is the creation of indigenous national Churches, deadened by no throttling laws of uniformity, free and varied as the spirit of man, but still unified, corporate, animated by one organic life, fulfilling one great mission, and inspiring and answering the national life and destiny of the people. If that is the right ideal for Japan or India, it is the right ideal for Scotland or the United States. It is the ideal toward which the people of Canada are working, and which they seem not unlikely to realise in our own day. The very ideal of missions involves union and suggests the road to us at home.

It is by this principle of nationalism that we may hope at last to meet the greatest of all problems in the way of Christian union at home and the yet unsolved problem of mission comity abroad—the problem, at which I hinted in the earlier part of this lecture, of the Church of Rome. That Church has either ignored or spurned every effort at fellowship in prayer or co-operation in work or aspiration after unity in the body of Christ. The Bishop of Lahore in 1894 declared what he had found to be her invariable attitude in India:

> I affirm, with a wide experience of North India and Burma, that I have never met with a direct and organised attempt to gather in the heathen on the part of that Church save where the seed had been first sown by others, and they had begun to enter into the fruit of their own labours. Instances of such intervention on the part of the Church of Rome may be found among the Karens in Burma, among the Chols at Chota Nagpur, in the Nadiya Missions of the Church Missionary Society in Bengal, and in the Missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the south of Calcutta. No *modus vivendi* is possible as between herself and other communions.

> She has refused to take part in missionary conferences or to recognise as brethren other missionaries, and for her, principles of missionary comity do not exist. And her principle of unity

is the exclusiveness of an institution, not the comprehension of the life of Christ. When in 1864 the Roman Catholic Bishops in England asked for the judgment of the Inquisition at Rome on the question of the membership of Roman Catholics in the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, which was made up of Anglicans and Romanists, Cardinal Patrizi replied for the Inquisition with regard to the association:

The principle upon which it rests is one that overthrows the divine constitution of the Church. For it is pervaded by the idea that the true Church of Jesus Christ consists partly of the Roman Catholic Church spread abroad and projected throughout the world, partly of the Photian schism and the Anglican heresy as having equally with the Roman Church one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. . . . The Catholic Church offers prayers to Almighty God and urges the faithful in Christ to pray that all who have left the Holy Roman Church, out of which is no salvation, may abjure their errors and be brought to the true faith and the peace of that Church, nay, that all men may by God's merciful aid attain to a knowledge of the truth. But that the faithful in Christ and that ecclesiastics should pray for Christian unity under the direction of heretics, and worse still, according to an institution stained and infected by heresy in a high degree, can no way be tolerated. . . . The most anxious care, then, is to be exercised that no Catholic may be deluded either by appearance of piety or by unsound opinions to join or in any way to favour the society in question or any similar one: that they may not be carried away by a delusive yearning for such newfangled Christian unity into a fall from that perfect unity which, by a wonderful gift of divine grace, stands on the firm foundation of Peter.—(Quoted in WALSH, "Secret History of Oxford Movement," p. 223, London, 1899, pop. edition, from official Roman Catholic translation in Synod's Diocese of Suthwarcensis, London, 1868, pp. 186-190.)

And not only has the Church of Rome thus far repudiated our principles of missionary comity and rejected our ideals of Christianity, but in great sections of the world like South America she has created for us some of our heaviest missionary responsibilities. Here is a continent where for more than three centuries the Church of Rome held absolute sway. She was the one Church. The governments were under her control. The

immigration was all from her own Churches in Europe. The education of the people was entirely in her hands. No Church ever in any land wielded an influence more complete or absolute. What are the conditions to-day? The men of South America have no religion. They are enrolled in the census as Catholics, but they neither attend church nor believe in Christianity. The great majority of the people are illiterate. The priesthood is either ignored or feared or despised. The churches have their occasional crowds on feast days, but for the most part are either closed or empty. A priest in the Argentine told me sadly that the conditions made his heart sore. In his parish of 130,000 souls not eight per cent., he said, ever attended church. Priests were so reviled that his order had asked to be allowed to lay aside clerical dress in order to avoid insult and to get at the people. The great masses of the people had no religion, and the Church was neither educating the children nor evangelising their parents. I asked him, for he was a true and an honest man, and a Christian, whether he saw any reason why the Protestant Churches should not be dealing with the enormous problems of South America side by side with good men in the Roman Catholic Church, as they were dealing with them in North America. He said he saw none. His chief lament was the political connection of the Roman Church with the Government, which bound its spiritual liberties and prevented it from being the national Church of the people's life.

Now, that has been the great historic error of the Church of Rome, the politicalisation of the Church. She has confused this ideal in each nation with the ideal of nationalism, and has lost both her own life and the people's life. She has been incapable of that comprehension which would make room for all the wealth of each nation's true life within it. And she has held a universal political conception of the Church, which has been at war with the genius and destiny of the separate nations. The one hope for her, and the hope of a true basis of union with her, is in the development of those principles of spiritual freedom and of nationalism which lie within the missionary ideal, and upon which unity is already drawing near.

Bishop Brent dealt with this hope in the charge from which I have already quoted:

My reference thus far has been to Protestant Churches, because the Roman Catholic Church sits aloof in proud isolation, coming near the Protestant Churches only to strike them. *I labour for peace; but when I speak to them thereof, they make them ready to battle.* There is little we can do relative to Roman Catholicism beyond a sincere endeavour to be fair. There are two sides to its character, which are wholly distinct—the Curia and the Church, the one being political, the other religious. The former is to be fought; the latter, though giving ground for controversy, is to be recognised as a Christian ally, however haughty and aloof in habits. That which is baneful in the Church, exaggerated ecclesiasticism, tyranny over conscience, arrogant dogmatism, is chiefly due to the constant pressure of the Curia. Nor is it as a Church that we can best fight the political intrigue and pretensions of Rome, but as citizens of a nation whose very existence is prophetic of Rome's final relinquishment of aspiration to temporal power and her lust of domination. The Reformation was the proclamation of the divine character of nationalism to the exclusion of no Christian nation, however feeble. The world has only just begun to feel the commanding force of Christian national life. Slowly but surely it is emancipating the countries of Europe and extending its influence even to the Far West. By the time its work is done Apostolic Delegates will no longer struggle to parade as ambassadors of a temporal power in worldly courts. If they survive at all it will be as frank-hearted representatives of a Pope resolved to play his part as the spiritual leader of a spiritual Church, backed in his purpose by a representative cardinalate. It needs no prophetic gift to forecast the final effect of Christian nationalism. Christian nationalism is an agency of God making for spiritual freedom, and is an invincible force as ever in human society, having in it the power of God's hand which nothing can stay. The emancipation it begets is as sure to come to pass as the rising of the morning sun, and patriotism, sober and whole-hearted, on the part of honest citizens, will greet the day. But at best it must be slow, after the manner in which God's mills grind.

And by the principle of Christian nationalism embodied in the missionary ideal we may hope at last, even though the day be long delayed, not only to deal with the problem of national

Christian unity as related to the Church of Rome, but also to realise the world unity of the Church. As I have said before, it is by the development of national Churches embodying and inspiring and consecrating to God the genius and destiny of each nation that the elements of a yet larger unity are to be prepared. The first is not contradictory of the second; it is essential to it, as the perfection of the state requires the perfection of the family unit, and the family demands and does not exclude the richest individualism. It is out of her perfect ministry to the life of each nation that the Church is to be prepared to minister to the life of all humanity, and to achieve its unity.

And it is of this ministry, expressed as yet between the Christian and non-Christian nations by the missionary movement alone, or at least best, that we come now to speak at the close of these lectures.

I quoted, in speaking of the relation of the missions to the native Churches which it was their aim to found, Professor Reinsch's summary of the modern growth of the principle of nationalism. After the passage quoted, Professor Reinsch went on to point out the dangers which lie in this principle:

> The nationalistic principle bears within it the possible source of its own destruction, and unless carefully guarded against exaggeration, will of itself lead to a disturbance of the equilibrium upon which the diversity of our civilisation depends. Within the latter half of the nineteenth century, nationalism has been thus exaggerated; going beyond a healthy desire to express the true native characteristic of a people, it has come, in some quarters, to mean the decrying, as barbarous or decadent, of everything originating outside of the national boundary. Within the state itself, there is a growing tendency to enforce, by custom and law, absolute uniformity of characteristics. Languages and literatures peculiar to smaller communities are not encouraged, the effort being rather made to replace them by the national language. In international politics the motives of foreign nations are being constantly misunderstood. Each nation looks upon itself as the bearer of the only true civilisation. France makes wars as a herald of progress; and when Germany is victorious, she, in turn, announces a triumph for civilisation. Even in art

and science, perhaps the most cosmopolitan of all pursuits, this nationalising tendency has left its mark. In order to give to a work of art a national tinge, idiosyncrasies are emphasised, while the broad, human way of looking at things, the art that speaks to all ages, is neglected. Historical writers are especially prone to yield to national prejudices, and even scientists may be found who import the "national equation" into their work. Chauvinism is not confined to politics. It is to be found in contemporary art and science as well.

There has been a complete change of ideals during the past hundred years. The century opened with a broad humanitarianism, with a belief in the saving power of general culture, and the main characteristic of the time was a nationalistic optimism which saw in reason the guiding influence in human affairs. This age of reason, of which Kant, Jefferson, the Humboldts, and Rousseau are the most prominent and distinctive exponents, was followed by what may be called the age of force. Napoleon's career destroyed much of the first optimism of the Revolution; but it was the period of 1848 that finally disappointed the hopes with which the century had begun. An age of pessimism then dawned, in which it was recognised that humanity is swayed, not so much by reason, as by the blind and passionate forces of the will. Schopenhauer's great work, which had laid unknown on the publishers' shelves for thirty years, now suddenly attracted widespread attention and became the mirror of the times. It is only within the last decade that this pessimism has been in turn replaced by a new optimism, the optimism of force, which sees in triumphant energy the sole condition of happy existence. The serenely quiet and completely harmonious balance of an existence such as Goethe's, reflected in his whole art, has given way to a rush of wild spirits that fight their way through storms of passions where only the strongest will, the most violent energy, can prevail.

This general character of the age is written plainly in the records of contemporary political life. The nations, having passed through their historical evolution, stand now, with fully developed individualities, face to face. Their competition in all the fields of human activity has taken on tremendous dimensions. On the same overwhelming scale as that of their armaments for war do they now exert their energies in all directions. It is true that in this way they develop greater vitality and ability than could ever be brought about in a condition of world peace; but their rivalry may become suicidal.—(Reinsch, "World Politics," pp. 6-8.)

Nationalism, instead of preparing for the development of human unity, may prove its destruction. There are many in both the East and the West who put an interpretation upon it which is inconsistent with world unity. In the year 1895, when relations between Great Britain and America were shadowed by the difficulty over the Venezuelan boundary question, at the English service on Christmas morning at the American mission Church in Teheran, Persia, the customary prayer for the Queen and the President "that they may vanquish and overcome all their enemies," was omitted, and a prayer for peace substituted. An English officer present was much impressed, and wrote an ingenious prayer in the form of a sonnet, referring to the incident, and closing with the lines:

> Two mightiest nations, may we sheathe the sword
> That our great destiny be not refused,
> The common faith we hold from common birth,
> To spread Thy glory and to rule Thine earth.

If that be deemed a flight of poetical fancy, as much cannot be said of Edward Dicey's plain statement in the *Nineteenth Century,* September, 1899, in an article on "Peace and War in South Africa":

"In every part of the world where British interests are at stake, I am in favour of advancing and upholding these interests, even at the cost of annexation and at the risk of war. The only qualification I admit, is that the country we desire to annex or take under our protection, the claims we choose to assert, and the cause we decide to espouse, should be calculated to confer a tangible advantage upon the British Empire."

We should have to go to militant Islam, it must be said to our shame, to parallel such words in the East, and militant Islam has no longer any nationalistic expression. The worst that we can find in the East would be an occasional irresponsible outburst of some Japanese writer, or the mere assertion by India or China of their desire to be let alone to develop their own destiny without entering the human unity. Mr. Dickinson

truthfully puts this view into the mouth of his Chinese official of the older order: "We would not if we could rival you, in your wealth, your sciences, and your arts, if we must do so at the cost of imitating your institutions. . . . Left to ourselves, we should never have sought intercourse with the West. We have no motive to do so. . . . We are sufficient to ourselves. . . . We do not require, and we have not sought, the products of other nations. . . . A society, we conceive, that is to be politically stable must be economically independent; and we regard an extensive foreign trade as necessarily a source of social demoralisation. . . ."—("Letters of a Chinese Official," pp. 8, 11, 12.) To be let alone, to let all the world alone, to keep China to herself, with no service from the world, with no service of the world—that was the Chinese ideal. And there is a modern Hindu nationalism which, while nobler than our world-conquering or China's world-excluding selfishness, is yet essentially antagonistic to the spirit of world unity. It is that nationalism which, while pretending the contrary, really sets the nationalistic form of truth above the truth, which seeks to lift a nation out of its prejudices by appealing to them, which assumes to find in the very national life that is to be reformed that power of reform whose absence has made the reform necessary. "In Hinduism," said Mrs. Besant, rising "amidst deafening cheers," in her address at the inaugural meeting of the Hindu Association in 1903, "in Hinduism India was born, and if Hinduism be disregarded, India will perish. You will find in the Indian Scriptures all that you really need for the building up of your national edifice." In a sense, this is saying no more than we in the West would say of our religion, but the note of this type of Indian nationalism is nationalistic, and nothing more; the spirit of the world unity is wanting in it.

And not only are our nationalisms in danger of lacking or denying the spirit of the world unity, but in the past hundred years our nations of the West have so acted as to edge the racial divisions with bitterness and distrust. We have looked down upon the non-Christian peoples, and have treated them

with overbearing contempt. We have forgotten "that scorn breeds scorn and abiding resentment," and that what Livingstone held of the negro is true of all men, that it is not safe to disregard the manhood of any people. (WELLS, "Life of James Stewart," p. 282.) Our national relations with the non-Christian nations have been marked by a sense and assertion of our racial superiority. And it is necessary to add that it is not possible to separate our national relationships from the effects of personal contempt and injustice. Let me cite three illustrative instances. The first is from a letter from a friend in India:

You refer to the "lawlessness" abroad in the land. Let me tell you how some people account for this. A friend with whom I was speaking of these things told me that she had requested a well-known native Christian gentleman to tell her his ideas with regard to the unrest in India. He replied that he was a Christian and loved his teachers, but he would relate a little incident from his own experience which might throw light on the causes of unrest among the native people of India. He was taking a stroll with two thoroughly educated and well-known Indian Christian ladies (one of them was Ramabai), when a British official passed them on horseback. They paid no attention to him as he was a stranger. The official immediately turned back with his whip raised and demanded they they do obeisance. The Indian gentleman stared at him, but the ladies bowed. Not satisfied with this he repeated his demand. Again the gentleman stared and the ladies bowed. The official was probably afraid to pursue the matter further and passed on his way. Another reason this gentleman assigned for the unrest is the holding of native life so cheap; Europeans not sufficiently punished for causing grievous hurt or even death to natives. Now, I am loyal to the British Government in India. For nearly forty years I have lived under British rule, and I have known more or less intimately a great many British officials. One who occupied a high position in the service always answered the salaam of the poorest native. He was taken to task for this by a fellow official, and gave the reply that Washington gave under similar circumstances—"Am *I* to be outdone in politeness by a poor coolie?"

The second is a mere incident of mission work in a hospital in Soochow, China. A poor woman who lived on the bank

of a canal, where she had a tiny garden, came to the hospital suffering from a painful affection of the face. The woman missionary saw her shivering, as though cold, in the waiting-room. When her turn came she was examined, though she was evidently labouring under much excitement. She was advised to remain for an operation, but at once left the hospital and hurried away. After several visits, her excitement disappeared, and she entered the wards and was cured. Afterwards she confided to the missionary that she had been in deadly fear of foreigners. Men from the settlement in Shanghai had been accustomed to come hunting to Soochow, and had tied up their boats at her little property and ravaged her garden, and so terrified her that she had been accustomed to flee when she saw them coming. She had supposed that all foreigners were like them, and it had been hard for her to conquer her fears so far as to come to the hospital. Now she realised that there were good and bad foreigners, just as there were good and bad Chinese. But there are many who have received no such revelation at a mission hospital or elsewhere.

The third is a longer story, and I shall let our friend, the Rev. Donald Fraser of Livingstonia, tell it without comment:

The following story will show one reason why African missionaries should be ahead of commerce in the rapid development of that continent. Other significant deductions may be drawn from it.

After the rinderpest in South Africa, and the consequent stagnation of trade in Rhodesia, a number of men wandered up to British Central Africa in search of cattle. Ignorant of the hardships of the long march, they were tempted on by romances of the abundance of cattle to be found in Ngoniland at ridiculously low prices. The first men who came were daring young Englishmen, who had walked on week after week in search of this fabled cattleland, which was ever fading into the more remote interior. With an endurance through that long journey which was heroic, they had slept on the ground at night, had lived on native food, and had tramped till their boots were worn away and their clothes were in rags. They arrived at Ekwendeni one fine morning, rough, tough, and battered-looking men, unable to speak a word of any native language. They had taken a

week to do a two days' march. Their carriers had imposed on them, had made them pay five times the usual wage, and had refused to go any farther, when they were only a few miles from our station, unless an increase of pay was promised. They had pretended weariness, sickness, hunger, anything that would make the Englishmen buy goats and other luxuries for them to eat. The traders stayed in my house for a week or two. Strong, alert, high-toned men they were, making this daring venture,—one that he might soon have a home for his wife; the other that he might return to his mother in England. These first-comers bought about two hundred cattle with their hundred pounds. But only one arrived back in Umtali. The hardships of the way killed the younger and stronger of the two. But the news of the possibility of getting quantities of cattle at about ten shillings a head, and selling again at ten pounds, soon brought a flood of adventurers into the country. The prices began to leap up. At last all the surplus cattle were bought, and the natives, surfeited with calico and beads, refused to sell more.

When matters had reached this stage, a young man, a native of Natal, whose name was Z——, came into the country to buy for the North Charterland Exploration Company. He was disappointed to find that the people were unwilling to part with their stock, and that those who were ready to sell demanded four and six times the price he expected. So he began to force the sales. He took possession of about forty old guns which he found in a native village. These, and others he had brought with him, he distributed among his followers, and then marched through the country, emptying some of the kraals of their cattle, and giving in return a nominal payment, or nothing at all.

Rumours of this high-handed proceeding were coming to me from time to time; but at first I paid no attention to them, thinking they were merely native exaggerations. At last complaints began to flow in daily; so I sent a note to some of my senior teachers asking them to go to the affected district, and investigate the truth of these reports. Next day a group of teachers and other lads came running into the station, breathless, and some of them bleeding from wounds. They soon told their story. Daniel, the eldest son of the Ngoni chief whose war-party had met Livingstone at the lake, had gone along with some other lads to make inquiries. After having heard many a story of robbery, he determined to remonstrate with the white man himself. This was his mistake. For, knowing well the strong feeling that Europeans have against any interference from a black man, I had only asked Daniel to find out from the natives

whether the stories were true. But, acting on his own suggestion, he and several of his friends went to speak with the white man. Taking off his hat, and sitting down before him, Daniel began by saying: "Why do you go through our country taking cattle you have not paid for?" Z—— replied: "Who sent you to speak to me?"

"My master sent me," answered David.

"Then," said Z——, "tell your master to come here if he has anything to say." And he drew his sjambok and lashed Daniel with it. The other lads leaped up, angry at the unprovoked insult, and, seizing their sticks, struck at Z——. He then whipped out his revolver and emptied it among the natives. They fled in all directions; but he climbed an ant-hill, and fired shot after shot with his repeating rifle after the runners. The servants of the white man also gave chase, and with clubs and axes left their marks on the terrified men.

When I heard this story I wrote a letter to the nearest Government collector, and sent off some of the boys to the lake with it, urging them to travel night and day. That evening there was a good deal of excitement among the people. But it rose higher when runners came in to report that some men were missing, and were thought to be killed, and that Z—— had fled during the night, taking all the cattle with him. My teachers also sent notes to say that the chief and his warriors were going out to follow after Z—— and punish him. I forthwith sent off other messengers to the lake, calling on the collector to come as quickly as possible, and telling him that I might not be able to prevent the army from doing harm to the white man. At the same time I sent word to the chief and to the teachers urging them to use all their influence to keep the people quiet until the collector should arrive.

Next day I heard that a few lads, armed with clubs, had started after Z—— to recover their cattle. They had come upon about sixty head in charge of some of Z——'s followers; but these men, on seeing the pursuers, had cast away their loads, deserted the drove, and fled. But no blows had been struck. The teachers of the district told the lads to put all these cattle together into a village kraal, and forbade the owners to claim them until they should receive instructions from me. They also gathered together the boxes of gin, and other articles which had been thrown away, and did not allow any one to touch them.

Later in the evening the chief sent in runners to say that some of his people, who were hoeing in a garden, had been shot dead, and that he was no longer able to keep his warriors from

going out to punish the trader. That night I sent back messengers to the chief and senior teachers telling them that on no account must the army go out; that the trader was probably a British subject and must not be harmed; and that on Monday morning early, if the collector had not arrived, I should go out myself to the disturbed district.

Through these anxious days I had been alone, with no other white man in the country, and I could not leave the station. But on Saturday, to my relief, Mr. Murray arrived from the institution. Leaving him in charge, I started out for the chief's kraal. But we had not gone many miles when a native came running and shouting after us to say that Dr. Scott had arrived from Bandwe. I was glad to have his company. I had sent word to Bandwe to all my fellow-missionaries of the disturbance, and, knowing that I was alone, Dr. Scott, with great kindness, had started off immediately, and had come on, in spite of rain, to be with me. The two of us then went out together. We had waited for six days for an answer from the collector, but none had come. We started out between three and four in the morning, and hurried over the twenty or thirty miles as quickly as we could. As we went along the path the people came out to us with tales of their wrongs, and demanded with vehemence the punishment of the white man. An old man, bent and blind with his ninety years, was carried to the side of the path. He told how Z——'s men had entered his village, had taken all his cattle, outraged the women in the village, and after stripping him of his little trinkets, had whipped him and knocked him down.

When we arrived at the chief's head village, we found about two thousand men waiting for us in the kraal. We sat down, and the chief called on some of his people to tell their stories. They rose one after another, showing wounds from bullets and clubs, and the long cuttings of the lash on their backs; women and girls were there who had been outraged; and headmen told how their cattle, sheep, and goats had been seized, and their people murdered.

Then when all had finished, the chief rose and spoke. He asked why they had not been allowed to pursue and kill the raider. Were they to understand that our Queen allowed her subjects to come into a friendly country, and commit these atrocities, without his having power of redress? And now the criminal was leaving their country with hundreds of their cattle, sheep, and goats, and we would not allow them to arrest their own property.

I replied that as the trader was probably a British subject, serious complications would follow if they did him harm; that

I had sent runners to the nearest collector, but no answer had been received. I could only explain this silence by surmising that he recognised that the Ngoni were still an independent people, and were outside his sphere of jurisdiction. But they must not think that our Queen approved of such raiding by white men; that she stands for justice and for peace. Then I suggested that as the collector had not come, and as the cattle would soon be out of their country and beyond their control, a company of fighting men should go out in the morning and stop the cattle, and that Dr. Scott and I would go with them, on certain conditions—namely, that we choose the warriors; that we alone have dealings with the white man, for they were not going to fight, but to ask him to come back to settle the dispute in open court; and that no beer should be drunk on the way to inflame their passions. These conditions were at once granted.

Next morning the regiments gathered. They dashed up to the kraal gate, some of them adorned with wild feather head-dress, and all fully armed with spears and shields and old muzzle-loading guns. Before they had gathered, however, a messenger arrived from Mr. Murray, to say that the collector was at Ekwendeni and would start in the morning for the chief's kraal. We sent out a special lot of carriers to meet him and bring him on with all speed. When he arrived he explained that he had been delayed by the rain. The chief and his people gathered together on the following morning, and again went over their tale of woe. And the collector, through his interpreter, made a strong speech to the people denouncing such filibustering, and asked for a company of warriors to go out with him and his police to pursue Z——'s party. That afternoon they started off, and with easier minds Dr. Scott and I returned home, leaving the whole affair in the hands of the collector. It is a rule of our mission that we should not interfere with civil matters, and beyond expounding what we believe to be the laws of justice and peace, we leave the administration of them to the proper native and European authorities.

After a few days the collector returned without his captive. Z—— had a week's start of his pursuers, and was out of the country long before they reached its borders. The new telegraph line was set a-working for Z——'s arrest. But he had taken the bull by the horns, and had lodged a complaint against us at the first Government station he had come to. He told how Ngoniland was in a state of great unrest, and required immediate pacification by British arms; how the missionary had sent out an *impi* to attack him, and they had seized a great number of

his cattle, boxes of gin, and other things; how he had been wounded on the head and body, and had barely escaped with his life. Where he told it his story was accepted as truth. The Central Africa Government, however, began to investigate the whole affair, and a few months after Z—— was brought back to Ekwendeni for trial before the sub-commissioner, Captain Pearce. Mr. Knipe, the collector whose kindly manner quickly won the confidence of the people, prosecuted on behalf of the Queen. The prisoner was charged with nine serious crimes, and was found guilty of eight of them. A pleasing feature of the trial was that not a single misstatement or contradiction was made by the Ngoni witnesses, in spite of all the cross-examination. It was far otherwise with the native servants of Z—— who came to give evidence in his favour. One of our teachers, in telling his story, said that at first he thought Z——'s men were *askari*—that is, Government police. "What made you think that?" the commissioner sharply asked.

"Because they were lifting cattle without paying for them," the witness naïvely replied. There was a laugh in the court at this unconscious sarcasm.

The Judge summed up in a long and able speech, in which he censured Z—— in the strongest language. He found him guilty of leading an armed party through a country friendly to her Majesty, and that his party had seized cattle, had outraged, wounded, and killed the natives. He was then sentenced to pay a fine of fifty pounds, was bound over to keep the peace in a recognisance of twenty-five pounds, with a bond of one hundred pounds, and was made to pay thirty shillings compensation to the nearest relative of each one who had been killed, as well as compensation to those natives who had been assaulted, outraged, and robbed. The man was subsequently expelled from the country for the repetition of his crimes.

The effect of his trial was to greatly increase the feeling among the natives that the British Government is there for their protection, and that the whiteness of a criminal's skin will not save him from punishment.

But when Z—— left the court with his friend, a gold prospector, their remark to one another was: "These missionaries are a curse to the country. They are spoiling it for other white men."—(*The Christian Express,* June 1, 1901.)

Such tales, thank God, do not tell the whole story of our relation to the non-Christian peoples. There have been many

noble and true men who have lived among these peoples and represented there the ideals of justice and righteousness, but the problem of unity has been made tenfold more difficult by the spirit of wrong and racial pride which these three tales illustrate, and which has marked in one degree and another much of our contact with the other peoples. "The conduct of most foreigners, the missionary excepted," said Mr. John W. Foster with temperate self-restraint, "in their intercourse with the natives (of China), has been truthfully described as masterful, high-handed, and generally overbearing," and he quoted General Gordon's words, forty years ago, that the Chinese "have suffered much wrong from foreigners, who have preyed on their country."

And not only by misconstruction of the nationalistic principle and by individual insolence of race have we made our problem harder, but the problem itself has almost resolved itself into the necessity of justifying, or, since that cannot be done, of atoning for the history of our past national dealings with the non-Christian peoples. We have taken their territory, we have maltreated their immigrants, we have shattered their institutions, we have destroyed their industries, we have ridiculed their customs and sacred institutions. Called of God to weld humanity into a unity, we have done our best to fill it with misunderstandings and deep-seated hates. This is the dark construction of modern history. There is also a noble story of human service and national fair-dealing. And back of all, and over all, a better will has wrought and evil has been shorn of its full power, and in spite of all, the love of God has been compacting the world's life, and the end of all, we hold, will be the one family of God.

In counteracting all that has hindered, and in providing elements which are essential to the perfecting of Christian nationalism and the unification of mankind, the missionary enterprise is charged with the necessary and availing work.

1. First of all, it is the missionary construction of Christianity alone which proclaims a hope and use for every race. It affirms the dignity of each national genius and destiny, and

the necessity of its contribution to the perfected family of God. It denies the validity of the principle of racial separation, and will not believe that any fiat of the Almighty has closed the door or denied the power of the endless life to any race. It takes issue absolutely with Mr. Townsend's view that "something radical, something unalterable and indestructible divides the Asiatic from the European. . . . They are fenced off from each other by an invisible, impalpable, but impassable wall."—("Asia and Europe," pp. 50, 150.) That is the fact with which the merely political construction of the world confronts itself. "Imperialism," as the New York *Post* put it recently, "is all the while being brought up short with these mortifying inconsistencies. It professes to be going forward with a policy of all-embracing justice. Freedom and self-government it cannot promise, but fair and equal treatment it does. Yet it finds that the ugly prejudice of race and colour is ever and again nullifying its fine words. There is no magic in the word imperial to make men abandon greed and deal with a fellow-being as an equal before the law and in the sight of God. And whether we call ourselves imperialist or parochial, there is not much for it but to get it into our heads and our hearts that it is infinitely mean to despise a man, and refuse to give him a fair chance, merely because he is poor or black." But that word belongs to Christianity and to the missionary construction of Christianity. Without it our political problem is hopeless, the problem merely of truce among foes, the acceptance of a perpetual estrangement in humanity. The missionary enterprise gives us the exactly opposite principle.

2. In the development of a true nationalism and of friendly racial relations the missionary agency is as Mr. Reed, the United States Minister to China, wrote to the Secretary of State in 1858, a great conserving and conciliating influence. "Having no enthusiasm on the subject," wrote Mr. Reed, "I am bound to say that I consider the missionary element in China a great conservative and protecting principle. It is the only barrier between the unhesitating advance of commercial adventure and the not incongruous element of Chinese imbecile corruption."

The service of the missionary enterprise in this regard is varied and it is indispensable to the neighborliness of mankind. The missionaries make the East and West, the North and South, acquainted with one another. "The greatest agency to-day in keeping us advised of the conditions among Oriental races," said President Taft in a recent address, "is the establishment of foreign missions."—(Address at Founders' Day Exercises, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, February 22, 1909.) All other agencies combined do not do as much to introduce the West to the Oriental races. The missionaries bind the peoples in friendliness. They draw after them the love of millions in the lands from which they come, and it is their business to win the friendship of those to whom they go. There they become centres of good-will and kindly feeling. What one of the oldest of their number, Dr. William Ashmore, has said of his associates in China is true the world over:

The Missionary himself is a very numerous personage. Taken men and women together there are about twenty-six hundred of him in China. Then all speak the language, many of them with very great fluency. In addition to their knowledge of the language is their even more important knowledge of the people themselves, of their local usages and customs, and of their ways of reasoning and of looking at things—quite abreast of the native himself, some of them. They know *yamen* usages and all the innumerable ins and outs of the whole social machinery. These Chinese-speaking men and women are scattered all over the Empire, in every one of the provinces—some one or more of them in almost every great city. They live among the people, and are in close contact with them every day—with common people, with merchants, with the respectable gentry of the city and, to some extent, with the officials. It is the business of these persons to conciliate people. That is what they are there for. They seek to do it to the utmost of their ability, and the majority of them display some tact in the matter; they start schools and they open hospitals; they dispense medicines; they are in the market and in the shops, and along the highway, and talking with people, making acquaintances and making friends—friends not only for themselves, but for their countrymen far away whom the town people have never seen, but about whom they have heard that they are ogres and devils. These

missionaries show that it is not so, for these missionaries are cultured people and have good manners, and understand propriety. They are not rude and rough in their treatment of their servants, and they pay all their debts, and have warm friends among the shopkeepers, who commend them for their fair dealing.

An acquired reputation like this is worth something to the entire foreign community in China, and is the more highly to be prized in that it is oftentimes of slow acquisition, and represents a deal of patient living down of the bad reputation which in the minds of most country people attaches to the Western man. We have no means of estimating the amount of this kindliness and softened estimate towards us as foreigners generated by the missionary body, but we do know that it is very good. One missionary family in an inland town or city will, in the course of a few years, make hundreds of friends, possibly, or if not actual friends, people who will be kindly disposed to him and his little children.

In time of suffering it is they who enlist the sympathy of the richer peoples and are the almoners of their bounty. Of their services in the last great famine in China, one of the leading English papers in Shanghai remarked: "It must be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that the famine committees have been able to enlist the services of the local missionaries in the distribution of relief. Their fitness for the work entrusted to them, which they have willingly undertaken, no one will question, whilst their probity and conscientious administration of the funds are equally beyond cavil. Their knowledge of the language and customs of the people, and their, generally speaking, friendly relations with them, constitute them the most fitting instruments for the work." (*The North China Herald,* March 28, 1907, editorial, "The Famine.") Many missionaries, already endeared to the people among whom they worked, have been enshrined in an almost religious reverence for such sacrificial service.

It would be easy to multiply indefinitely the evidences of the work of sympathy and conciliatory understanding wrought by missionaries. Two concrete illustrations must suffice. One is the case of a missionary in China who, after twenty years of service, was returning home a year ago. Before he left, two

documents of appreciation were drawn up by the prefectural and county mandarins of the neighbourhood where he resided. The prefectural mandarin wrote of him: "During the past few years, whenever I have interviewed the gentry and scholars, the merchants, and the people generally, in the country around, they all without exception have spoken of his goodness in a most spontaneous fashion. Those worn with age or ruddy with youth all tell the same tale. A refined friendship has been cemented between the missionary and myself, during the whole of which I have never heard him utter an ungenerous word, or seen a frown upon his face. We often chatted together at considerable length, and on each occasion there has been the unconstrained outflow of thought and feeling. I have been glad, indeed, in my wanderings to have met with such a friend. And I have been even more glad to note the manner in which he has aroused the latent sensibilities of the populace to similarity of feeling and a recognition of the essential unity of principles, so that the barriers of East and West have been forgotten, and a valuable contribution has been secured toward cordial international relations generally." And many such words. To which the county mandarin adds much more, saying, among other things: "He has lived here for twenty years, and managed matters so well that there has been no enmity between the populace and the Church. Indeed, the whole prefecture unites as one in his praises—a fact so well known that I need not relate it. He has been pre-eminent in his proclamation of religion, both in its details and in its permeating principles. And he may rest assured that, after his return, his instruction and doctrine will continue to progress more and more."

The other illustration is the life of Dr. C. W. Forman, for nearly half a century a missionary in Lahore, India. At his death in 1894 *The Tribune,* a non-Christian paper published in Lahore, summed up the popular estimate of the man:

It will be long before Lahoris forget the sweet and benign face of the great American missionary, who went to his reward on Monday last. They had affectionately styled him Baba Forman (Grandfather Forman), and whenever he passed through

the streets on his way to the school or one of the preaching stations in the city crowds of boys would follow him with cries of "Baba Forman!" and sometimes, surrounding him, pull his sleeves and coat-tails and beg for more tracts with coloured illustrations. It is only a few months ago we met him one evening near Rang Mahal coming toward Lohari Gate. It had rained hard the whole day and the pavement was ankle-deep in mud. The narrow thoroughfare, nevertheless, was crowded as ever. There were the street Arabs playing in the gutters and running between people's legs. There were ladies painfully slipping along rather than walking (on account of their inconvenient slippers) through the jostling crowd. There were the usual assortment of pariah dogs, Brahminy bulls, hawkers of sweets, business men, loafers, faquirs, roughs, students, clerks, etc. Our attention was drawn to an end of the street from where a knot of boys was slowly advancing. When sufficiently near we observed it was the venerable Padri attended by his usual escort.

No one seeing him for the first time failed to be struck with his magnificent presence. He was over rather than below six feet in height and proportionately broad. A snow-white beard sweeping a broad, manly chest, a large Roman nose, small laughing bluish grey eyes, cliff-like brows surmounted by a broad expansive forehead, polished as marble, made up a face which a sculptor would unhesitatingly accept as a model for the head of an earnest teacher. Half of our educated young men have been brought up in his school. Almost all Lahoris of the batch, which has just retired or is retiring from service, had received their education under his supervision, consequently there are few *sufaidposh* people in Lahore who were not personally acquainted with him. And the good missionary did not pass the most insignificant among them without stopping to enquire as to how they were doing, whether anything troubled them, etc. We doubt whether any other man, European or Indian, has taken as great a part in the making of the Punjab of to-day as Dr. Forman. A history of *his* educational work would be almost the educational history of the Province. He came to this city in 1848 as a missionary of the American Presbyterian Church. Happily for us, while passing through Lower Bengal on his way to Upper India, he had observed the brilliant results achieved by Dr. Duff and his devoted colleagues, and he resolved in his mind to carry the Gospel to the people through the medium of English education. Arriving at Ludhiana, he received valuable hints and guidance from the late Dr. Newton, whose daughter he afterwards married. Reaching Lahore he devoted all his mighty energies

to bring the torch of knowledge to the people who were steeped in superstition and dense ignorance. He had to fight against appalling difficulties, and one by one removed all. The authorities did not look with favour on his efforts. The parents of boys thought they were conferring a great favour on him by sending the youngsters to him. He had to give scholarships to most of his pupils as an inducement to them to stay in his school. It was by such means that he made education popular here. Looking round his assembled pupils, over one thousand in number at morning prayer time, he used often to remark that he had begun with one and had been delighted once on having six together. So long ago as early in the sixties he had opened college classes in his school with a strong staff of professors.

Afterwards he had reluctantly to close the college, but only for a few years. He established more than a dozen of branch schools in all parts of the city for the teaching of children. For the benefit of workmen and others, who could not afford to read in the daytime, he started a night school, which was formerly known as the Mission Adult School. There are hundreds who owe their rise in life to that school. The night school is flourishing and doing its blessed work. Most of his time and attention was given to educational work. But he was not at all remiss in his preaching duties. In every weather, in every season, he was never absent from his post in the Lohari Gate or Delhi Gate Chapels, or Lohari Mandi and Hira Mandi preaching stations. To his flock of the mission compound he was as a father. He was far from a good orator, but he was very effective as a preacher. Whatever he said came direct from the heart and went direct to the heart of his listener. Though he is no longer working in the flesh in our midst, the spirit of his work will beckon us onward. His memory will long be a "pillar of light" to our people.

The funeral took place on Thursday afternoon. The body was brought down from Kasauli and reached Lahore Station by about 3 P.M. There was a strong muster of pupils, friends, and admirers of the deceased missionary on the platform. A solemn silence fell on the gathering as the train arrived. The large box containing the mortal remains was reverently lifted up by some students of the Mission School and others, and carried up to the bungalow in the Mission compound close by, which Dr. Forman had occupied for over forty years. Thence the body was placed in a coffin and taken to the Mission Church, where touching funeral orations were delivered. Among others, the venerable Lala Chandu Lal spoke feelingly of the great work

done by the padri. Then a procession was formed and all proceeded through the city to the Protestant Cemetery. The Rev. Henry Forman and the Rev. John Forman, two sons of Dr. Forman, were the chief mourners. Not less than three thousand persons of all classes and creeds followed the hearse. Pundit Prem Nath, Examiner, Public Works Department; Pundit Amar Nath, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner; Babu Gunda Mal, and many other old pupils of Dr. Forman were visibly moved. In the city hundreds joined the solemn procession. All differences of creed and colour seemed to be forgotten for the moment, and all united to do honour to the memory of the pious deceased. When the coffin was lowered into the grave there were few dry eyes in the vast throng. The hearse and coffin were covered with wreaths of flowers, which were placed upon them by Hindus, Mussulmans, and Christians alike.

A public meeting of the pupils, friends, and admirers of Dr. Forman was held in the Rang Mahal yesterday evening. Pundit Prem Nath, Examiner, Public Works Department, occupied the chair. Several impressive speeches were delivered expressing the sense of the loss sustained by the community by the death of the veteran educationist and preacher of the Gospel. Several proposals were adopted for keeping his memory green in the Punjab. Another great meeting will be held on Sunday.

These are not isolated and exceptional cases. The missionary enterprise everywhere is itself only when it is a movement of good-will and friendship. It is in this that the secret of its power to promote peace and order resides—a power greater, where it is allowed to work, than any other power the West possesses. "I have relied," said Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of Cape Colony, "more upon the labours of missionaries for the peaceful government of the natives than upon the presence of British troops." "For the preservation of peace between the colonists and natives," said General Sir Charles Warren, Governor of Natal, "one missionary is worth a battalion of soldiers." "In my judgment," said Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, "Christian missionaries have done more real and lasting good to the people of India than all other agencies combined. They have been the salt of the country and the true saviours of the empire."

No small part of the conserving work the missionary has

done has been to war against the hateful forces which are destructive of racial as well as individual character, and thus to save national character and its power to fulfil its mission. It was the missionary movement that checked the annihilating traffic in liquor in Africa and the South Seas, and stopped the slave trade. What success in the anti-opium campaign has been attained, said Mr. Wong at the reception given to the members of the International Opium Commission in Shanghai on February 3, 1909, was largely due to missionaries. Indirectly, he thought the Commission would draw the nations represented closer together, as nothing drew peoples together more than united action for a righteous cause. And of the service of the missionary movement in saving a whole race, a competent witness has borne testimony: "The Esquimaux are all Christians," said Dr. Grenfell of Labrador. "The Moravian missionaries converted them long ago. In general morality, I should say, that they rank higher than most Christian communities. Christianity is a saving influence with them; but for it I am sure that they would have been extinct long ago from the vices which follow trade." It may be said that such a preservation is trivial, that these marginal races have no contribution to make to the united life of the family of God. The Christian view is different, but even so, if we are to let these indifferent races alone, it must be on fair terms. If they are to be denied our Gospel, they must be spared also our lusts and the diseases which we have never hesitated to propagate throughout the world.

But it has been not only among the feeble peoples and in the destruction of the predatory forces of the West that the missionary enterprise has made its contribution. It has been doing all over the world the solid work at the base of the new civilisation. Mr. McKinley bore witness to this in one of his last addresses:

I am glad of the opportunity to offer without stint my tribute of praise and respect to the missionary effort, which has wrought such wonderful triumphs for civilisation. The story of the

Christian Missions is one of thrilling interest and marvellous results. The services and the sacrifices of the missionaries for their fellow-men constitute one of the most glorious pages of the world's history. The missionary, of whatever Church or ecclesiastical body, who devotes his life to the service of the Master and of men, carrying the torch of truth and enlightenment, deserves the gratitude, the support, and the homage of mankind. The noble, self-effacing, willing ministers of peace and goodwill should be classed with the world's heroes.

They count their labour no sacrifice. "Away with the word in such a view and with such a thought," says David Livingstone; "it is emphatically no sacrifice; say, rather, it is a privilege." They furnish us examples of forbearance, fortitude, of patience, and unyielding purpose, and of spirit which triumphs not by the force of might, but by the persuasive majesty of right.

Who can estimate their value to the progress of nations? Their contribution to the onward and upward march of humanity is beyond all calculation. They have inculcated industry and taught the various trades. They have prompted concord and amity, and brought nations and races closer together. They have made men better. They have increased the regard for home; have strengthened the sacred ties of family; have made the community well-ordered, and their work has been a potent influence in the development of law and the establishment of government.—(Report of Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, Vol. I, p. 39 f.)

And one who through tragic experiences came to know the missionary and his mission well, the late American Minister to China, Mr. Conger, in an address not long before his death, bore his authoritative testimony:

For seven years I was most intimately associated with the American missionaries in China, and I take genuine pleasure and pride in certifying to all the world, and particularly to those who support and stand behind them, that they are a body of men and women who, measured by the good they do, by the sacrifices they make, the trials they endure, and the risks they take, are veritable heroes, whose absolutely unselfish devotion to humanity is surpassed nowhere on the face of the earth. They are the pioneers in all that land. They are invariably the forerunners and forebears of all that is best in Western civilisation. It is they who, armed only with the Bible and with school-books, and

sustained by a faith which gives them unflinching courage, have penetrated into the darkest interior of that great Chinese Empire, hitherto unvisited by foreigners, and blazed the way for the oncoming commerce which everywhere has quickly followed them. It was they who first planted the banner of the Prince of Peace in every place where now floats the flag of commerce and trade. The dim pathways which they traced, often marking them with their life's blood, are being rapidly transformed into great highways of travel and trade, and are fast becoming lined with chapels, schoolhouses, and railway stations, where heretofore were found only idolatrous shrines and lodging places for wheelbarrow-men and pack mules.—(*The Spirit of Missions,* November, 1906.)

In these and deeper ways the missionary movement has been a great constructive and conciliatory power.

3. In the third place, Christianity in the missionary enterprise introduces the new principles from without which are not found in the non-Christian nations, and without which they cannot take their true place or fulfil their missions, or be ready for human unity. The non-Christian nations are realising that they do not have these principles and must find them. Some seek them in a reinterpretation of their ancient oracles; some in the secular instructions of the West. But the leaders know that they are wanting and must be found. "It matters nothing," said the Gaekwar of Baroda, at the Indian National Social Conference in his inaugural address in 1904; "it matters nothing where the truth comes from. If it serves a national purpose or helps national ends, then it is national, whether the form in which we find it is modern or Vedic, European or purely Indian. And we must be eager to find the knowledge and apply it, whether it has the sanction of the older ideas or not. We have to look forward to the future of India; we are not going to revive the past. . . . What we need now is action—common-sense practical measures, and not discussion as to whether this or that reform is justified by older traditions or the sacred writings of our ancestors. . . . We must not only accept knowledge intellectually, but have the moral courage to alter our actions and customs in accordance. Otherwise, our knowledge

is of little use; for the true test of knowledge is its practical utility in equipping the society for the actual problems of life. If then, our customs put us at a disadvantage in the struggle of life, it is useless to persist in them merely because they are our own or old." Now, these new principles for which the nations are feeling have their origin and their full life only in the missionary interpretation of Christianity.

It alone fits men for freedom, by teaching them self-control in liberty, and making them fearless followers of the truth which makes men free. These two great gifts of the Gospel—truth and freedom—are the needs of the non-Christian peoples. On his return from his recent visit to Europe and America, the Gaekwar of Baroda pointed out their needs in a notable address to the Indian Industrial Conference in Calcutta: "The most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. . . . The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of new truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West, while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of the fathers rather than emulating the example they set by intellectual independence and constructive energy." One of the best friends and truest servants India ever had, Sir Herbert Edwardes, told her where she could have her needs met. "Till India is leavened with Christianity," he said in an address on "Our Indian Empire" in Manchester in 1860, "she will be unfit for freedom. When India is leavened with Christianity she will be unfit for any form of slavery, however mild. England may then leave her, with an overthrown idolatry and a true faith built up; with developed resources; and with an enlightened and awakened people, no longer isolated in the East, but linked with the civilised races of the West." A modern student and friend of India has told her the same thing, and the principle which he sets forth is true of all the true life and true freedom of the world. "The one essential," says Bishop Lefroy, "without which any hope of such independence and larger national life

appears an empty dream, is the infusion of a spirit both of unity and of vigorous, healthy, new life, of which as yet there is but the barest commencement in India, and which, as I believe, can be looked for from nowhere except from the spread of Christianity in the land."—(Charge to Clergy, November 6, 1906, p. 23.)

These nations need Christianity to fit men for freedom. They need it also to teach men service, which is the divine end of freedom. Until men are unselfish freedom is only an enlarged opportunity for action hostile to human unity. And Christianity, uttering itself through one channel or another, can alone teach the nations this law of ministry, which is a new principle to the non-Christian peoples. An article in an Indian paper, "The United India and Native States" (November 14, 1908), is a candid acknowledgment of this:

This kind of public spirit is entirely a Western product. India has known from time immemorial the virtue of charity, especially of the pious kind, but public spirit is very different from charity. The underlying principle of public spirit is that the best and surest way of raising the individual is to raise the society of which he is a member. Charity, on the other hand, looks to the individual and is not infrequently exercised regardless of its effect on the community as a whole. The individualistic conception of religious life in India was not favourable to the growth of public spirit. The socialistic conception of Christianity, to which the West owes all that is most vital in its civilisation, may be regarded as the parent of public spirit. Sacrifice as a means of self-development is at the root of Indian culture and civilisation. Protestant Christianity, claiming rightly or wrongly to be the true interpreter of Christ's teaching, has definitely abandoned sacrifice in favour of service as the true means of individual development. India has not accepted Christianity, but it has accepted its central doctrine of Service as being of superior national efficacy to its ancient principle of Sacrifice. This momentous change has been effected through the medium of English education; and to the mind which sees history only as the process of man's moral and spiritual evolution, the task of England in India would seem to be finished when—and not until—the theoretical acceptance of the principle of Service by the best minds of the country has found expression

in the structure of its social and national life. A thousand seditious and anarchical movements cannot hasten the arrival of that time by a single hour, a hundred thousand repressive laws will not delay its advent by a single minute. All these are "but trouble of ants in a million of suns." Each race has as its appointed task the uplifting of another race than itself. Its strength, its wisdom, its power, are all lent to it for that purpose and are withdrawn from it when they cease to fulfil it. The rise, growth, and decay of empires from this point of view are full of practical lessons to mankind. The gift of England to India is the principle of Service, of public spirit, of nationalism.

Furthermore, it is the missionary construction of Christianity which must give the world the principle of equality of man and woman, of man and man. The non-Christian principles of class and sex inequality have ruled the whole world except as Christ has changed it. The conditions which in one degree or another have prevailed throughout the world, and the protest which the Christian spirit has awakened against them,—for all the protest has come from that spirit,—are set forth by the Gaekwar of Baroda, who is not a Christian, in one of the addresses from which I have already quoted:

Let us now examine our two great problems—caste and the status of women—in more detail, endeavouring to understand what they are at present, what are the defects which they impose on the society, and what is the reality which they conceal or obscure.

The evils of caste cover the whole range of social life. It hampers the life of the individual with a vast number of petty rules and observances which have no meaning. It cripples him in his relations with his family, in his marriage, in the education of his children, and especially in his life. It weakens the economic position by attempting to confine him to particular trades, by preventing him from learning the culture of the West, and by giving him an exaggerated view of his knowledge and importance. It cripples his professional life by increasing distrust, treachery, and jealousy, hampering a free use of others' abilities, and ruins his social life by increasing exclusiveness, restricting the opportunities of social intercourse, and preventing that intellectual development on which the prosperity of any class most depends. In the wider spheres of life, in municipal or local

affairs, it destroys all hope of local patriotism, of work for the common good, by thrusting forward the interest of the caste as opposed to those of the community and by making combined efforts for the common good exceedingly difficult. But its most serious offence is its effect on national life and national unity. It intensifies local dissensions and diverse interests, and obscures great national ideals and interests, which should be those of every caste and people, and renders the country disunited and incapable of improving its defects or of availing itself of the advantages which it should gain from contact with the civilisation of the West. It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellow-men who are separated from us by no more than accident of birth. It prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European society. It prevents our making the most of all the various abilities of our diverse communities; it diminishes all our emotional activities and intellectual resources. Again, it is the most conservative element in our society and the steady enemy to all reform. Every reformer who has endeavoured to secure the advance of our society has been driven out of it by the operation of caste. By this rigidity, it preserves ignorant superstitions and clings to the past, while it does nothing to make those inevitable changes which nature is ever pressing on us more easy and more possible. . . .

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon all those familiar questions which cluster around the question of the status of women. I would merely point out that what we may most legitimately object against each is that they involve a bad economy of social forces.

Early marriage, especially now that the checks on early consummation are breaking down, must increase death and disease among the mothers, swell infant mortality, and injure the physique of the race. It interferes, also, with the proper education of women.

A too strict *purdah* mutilates social life and makes its current dull and sluggish by excluding the brightening influence of women.

By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation, deny to our children the advantage of having cultured mothers, and by stunting the faculties of the mother affect injuriously the heredity of the race. We create, moreover, a gulf of mental division in the home, and put a powerful drag on progress by making the

women a great conservative force that clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational. . . .

The existence, side by side, of customs like polygamy and the prohibition of widow remarriage similarly shows a bad organisation of society. The one keeps up an unduly low standard of morality among men, the other demands an impossibly high standard from women. To enforce the standard we suppress our feelings of humanity and affection and inflict severities upon widows in order to keep their vitality low and make them less attractive; yet the impossibility remains, and the laws of nature we have ignored avenge themselves; for, in spite of our harsh measures, we fail to preserve even an ordinary standard of morality in this much ill-treated class.

We should, however, realise where the evil lies. It is in the lowering of our ideas about women and the relation of the sexes.—(Report of Indian National Social Conference, at Bombay, 1904.)

These are needs which must come to Christianity for their supply.

And one other principle which the Christian ideal has to contribute from without is the ideal of a true nationalism. "The very idea of nationality has come to the educated mind of India under the auspices of Christianity; it has been undoubtedly quickened by the unconscious assimilation of ideas and principles essentially Christian. Split up hitherto into a number of separate and conflicting races and castes, a corporate life is now beginning to stir."—(SLATER, "Missions and Sociology," p. 14.) It is Christianity and the Christian principles embodied, with whatever obscuration, in British rule in India, which have created this stirring and given it the life of hope. And throughout the world the missionary movement as we have sought to set it forth has been one of the great educative ideas, and is the true norm and illumination of the Christian nationalism which is the divine principle of the next stage in the development of humanity.

4. And Christianity not only introduces from without the principles required for the development and unity of humanity, but it presents in doing so the only possible method of achieving unity. It deals directly with the individual and moves upon his

personality and will, and so rests the new movement where alone it can stably rest, upon the redeemed character of persons. "The mightiest civilising agencies," says Dr. Fairbairn, "are persons. The mightiest civilising persons are Christian men." And it appeals through the mind and heart of the individual to the reason of the world. "If our people are ever to be moved," says Mr. Dickinson's Chinese official, "their reason and their heart must be convinced."—("Letters from a Chinese Official," p. 42.) That is true of all the peoples, and that is the method, and the only method of the missionary enterprise. It is speaking to the reason and the heart of nations. By the purely persuasive agencies which it uses, the voice of the friend, the steady upheaving transformation of the school, the tenderness of sympathy in suffering, by dissolving prejudice and incarnating the truth of human oneness, it is convincing the world's reason, even when it is unaware, and has already penetrated every nation and permeated some with the principles by which the people are to fulfil their separate destinies and attain their heavenly ordered unity at the last.

5. Yet once more, the missionary work of Christianity is essential and effective because it provides the adequate moral basis which is necessary for the life and institutions of the peoples. All the non-Christian peoples have lacked the moral basis of a national life. The Chinese have come nearest to possessing it, and what was strong in China's neighbouring nations was borrowed from the Chinese, but even there the want of what is elementary in Christianity deprived the Chinese people of the central power of a great nationality. As the foreigner wrote, who knew the nation as well as any foreigner has ever known it:

> Even among a people like the Chinese, who are possessed of the conveniences of life and held together by an organised government founded on the consent of all classes, the want of truth and integrity weakens every part of the social fabric. Moral ethics, enforcing the social relations, the rights and duties of the rulers and ruled, and the inculcation of the five constant virtues have been taught in China for twenty-five centuries, and yet

have failed to teach the people to be truthful. They never can do it, for they have no sanctions calculated to influence the mind and strengthen it to resist temptation. . . . But until truth becomes even here the basis of society, so that a man sinks in the estimation of his fellows if caught in a falsehood, and is afraid to lie because he will be despised, the Chinese must remain far below any Christian nation. They cannot progress in civilisation until they become truthful. No corporate bodies formed among them for the purpose of carrying out great plans of improvement can cohere in consequence of this inherent weakness, because no subscribers will trust their money to such a company. No insurance company can obtain the confidence of the community; no trust company can succeed, let it promise ever so much. If the government issues coin it is taken for its intrinsic worth, like bullion, because it is so tampered with as to lose its nominal value; and the case is still worse with its bonds,—so that China alone, of all the nations of the earth, has even now no national silver or gold coin, and no bank bills, the only currency being a miserable copper-iron coin, so debased as not to pay counterfeiters to imitate it. . . . Truth alone is the proper aliment for the mind; on it alone can all the faculties acquire their full development.—(S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. I, p. 352 ff.)

And so of every nation. Its deepest needs are the moral needs, which must be met before the people can be free to fulfil their divinely ordered ends. "It is the moral sense of the people that has to be elevated," says a Hindu writer of his own nation. (Jwala Dass in the *Hindustan Review.* See *The Literary Digest,* February 15, 1908, p. 220.) And both in the nation in its needs, and among the nations in their relations, Christianity, and Christianity alone, can furnish the indispensable foundation. It is in Christianity and its principles, which men cannot permanently separate from their historic origin in it and their organic connection with it, that the moral basis of true nationalism and of true universalism is to be found. "Upon her perpetuation in the civilised world," says Bishop Brent, speaking of the Christian Church in which Christianity prosecutes her central mission among men, "depends the maintenance of common morality, not to mention moral refinements, the achievement of even that moderate success in character-

building which marks the pathway of Christian history, that buoyancy of hope which casts upon the harsh disciplines of life something akin to transfiguring radiancy. Upon her extension to every corner of the world that is ignorant of the truth, as made known in the good news of the Saviour's message, hinges the consummation of God's beneficent purposes for the human race, the full knowledge of Christ's personality by men, and that unification of the nations of the world which has ever been the dream of philosophers, the labour of philanthropists, and the prayer of the saints."

6. And lastly, the missionary movement embodies the one supreme uniting power. Within each nation for the perfect development of its character and for the faithful fulfilment of its mission there must be some adequate unifying bond. The bond must relate men in their deepest life, in the foundations of their principles, in the fountains of their ideals, in their eternal hopes. Only a common religion can supply that bond. "Any one realising the importance attached to religion in Asia," says Arminius Vambery, "will easily understand how impossible it is to bridge over [politically] the gulf which separates the professors of these various beliefs in India. Religion absorbs the interest of the Asiatic; it is stronger than his feeling of nationality."—("Western Culture in Eastern Lands," Ch. II.) When any land is torn by religious and racial division, as Dr. Ghose reminded the Surat Section of the Indian National Congress of 1907, after the unhappy division of the Congress, it cannot realise the unity of its character or its destiny. It was the missionary movement in Christianity which furnished the Roman Empire with this essential bond, and in his discernment of the power and duty of Christianity thus to unite men, Professor Ramsay has marked the supreme statesmanship of St. Paul:

In the mind of the ancients no union of men, small or great, good or bad, humble or honourable, was conceivable without a religious bond to hold it together. The Roman Empire, if it was to become an organic unity, must derive its vitality and its hold on men's minds from some religious bond. Patriotism, to

the ancients, was adherence to a common religion, just as the family tie was, not common blood, but communion in the family religion (for the adopted son was as real a member as the son by nature). Accordingly, when Augustus essayed the great task of consolidating the loosely aggregated parts of the vast Empire, he had to find a religion to consecrate the unity by a common idea and sentiment. The existing religions were all national, while the Empire (as we saw) was striving to extirpate the national divisions and create a supra-national unity. A new religion was needed. Partly with conscious intention, partly borne unconsciously on the tide of events, the young Empire created the Imperial religion, the worship of an idea—the cult of the Majesty of Rome, as represented by the incarnate deity present on earth in the person of the reigning Emperor, and by the dead gods, his deified predecessors on the throne. Except for the slavish adulation of the living Emperor, the idea was not devoid of nobility; but it was incapable of life, for it degraded human nature, and was founded on a lie. But Paul gave the Empire a more serviceable idea. He made possible that unity at which the imperial policy was aiming. The true path of the Empire lay in allowing free play to the idea which Paul offered, and strengthening itself through this unifying religion. That principle of perfect religious freedom (which we regard as Seneca's) directed for a time the imperial policy, and caused the acquittal of Paul on his first trial in Rome. But freedom was soon exchanged for the policy of fire and sword. The imperial gods would not give place to a more real religion, and fought for two and a half centuries to maintain their sham worship against it. When at last the idea of Paul was, even reluctantly and imperfectly, accepted by the Emperors, no longer claiming to be gods, it gave new life to the rapidly perishing organisation of the Empire and conquered the triumphant barbarian enemy. Had it not been for Paul—if one may guess at what might have been—no man would now remember the Roman and Greek civilisation. Barbarism proved too powerful for the Græco-Roman civilisation unaided by the new religious bond; and every channel through which that civilisation was preserved, or interest in it maintained, either is now or has been in some essential part of its course Christian after the Pauline form.—(RAMSAY, "Pauline and Other Studies," p. 99.)

The task which St. Paul performed for the Roman Empire we have now to perform for the world, and in a more complicated form, but a form for which Christianity is entirely ade-

quate. We have to locate Christianity in the life of each separate nation for the perfection of its national character and the accomplishment of its national destiny, and we have to set it in the whole life of the world so as to bind into one each perfected nationality and to cement and complete with its unity the whole varied life of mankind. This is the work that must now be done, and which Christianity alone can do. The privilege of it is ours who believe that God has made of one blood all the nations of men, and has appointed to each the bounds of its habitation and the glory of its own distinct mission, and has also given them in the Gospel of His Son that common life provided for all mankind, wherein there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman nor freeman, but Christ is all and in all.

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